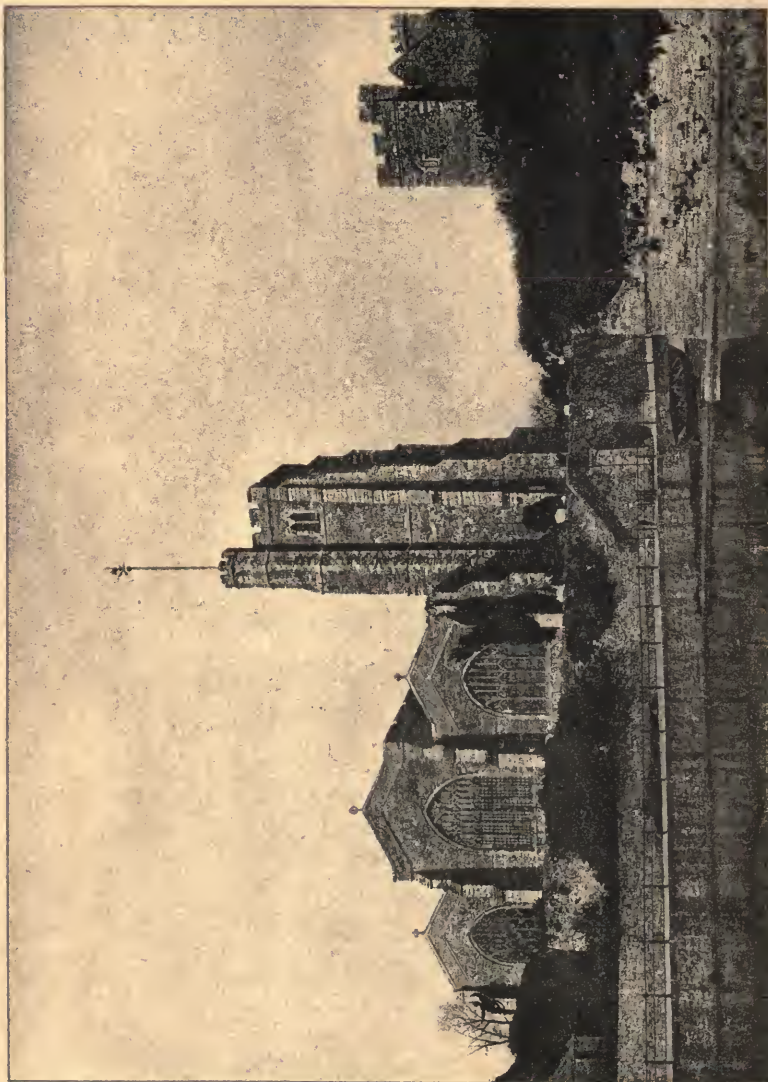




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THE HISTORY
OF THE
Parish Church
OF
ALL SAINTS', MAIDSTONE,
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY
J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.,
Vicar of Detling, near Maidstone;
AUTHOR OF "LAMBETH PALACE AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS," ETC.

"... How beautiful they stand,
Those ancient altars of our native land."

L. E. L.

MAIDSTONE:
G. BUNYARD, WEEK ST. | J. BURGESS BROWN, WEEK ST.
AND OTHER MAIDSTONE BOOKSELLERS.

And of the Author.

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TO

The Vicar and Clergy,

THE CHURCHWARDENS, AND OTHER OFFICERS,
AND THE PARISHIONERS GENERALLY,

OF

All Saints', Maidstone,

THIS ENDEAVOUR TO ELUCIDATE THE HISTORY OF

THEIR NOBLE PARISH CHURCH,

WHICH THEY HAVE RECENTLY BEAUTIFULLY RESTORED,

AND OF WHICH THEY ARE JUSTLY PROUD,

IS OFFERED BY THEIR NEIGHBOUR,

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.



SOME explanation, perhaps an apology, is due from one who neither by parentage nor by direct connection belongs to the town of Maidstone for having attempted to write a History of its Parish Church. They who have addressed themselves to the subject before him—like Newton,¹ who was born and for some years resided here, though his after-life was passed in another part of the County; and Beale Poste,² who may be said to have lived and died in the neighbourhood—had the strong and stimulating motive of love for their *natale solum*—then Whichcord,³ too, had official connection with the Church as Architect, and

¹ *The History and Antiquities of Maidstone, from the MSS. Collections of William Newton, Minister of Wingham.* 1741.

² *The History of the College of All Saints', Maidstone,* by Beale Poste. 1847.

³ *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of All Saints', Maidstone,* by J. Whichcord. 1845.

Gilbert,¹ again, as Organist—but the present writer has no such excuse to offer ; he can plead nothing but the circumstance of being located in a neighbouring country Parish, and finding in the noble building, of which all Maidstone men may well be proud, a subject on which he might gratify his love for Architecture and History.

Still his casual notes and jottings would probably never have seen the light in a collected form, but for the request made by his valued friend, the Rev. H. Percy Thompson, formerly Curate here, for a series of short papers about the old Church for the outside pages of their Parish Magazine. Out of those papers, which appeared month by month for nearly three years, and are believed to have been read with interest by many of the Parishioners, has grown the present fuller, and he would hope more complete, account of the Church, its Clergy, and its Associations.

His great object has been to obtain reliable information, and in his search for such he can truly say he has spared neither himself nor any one, were he friend or entire stranger, who he thought might be able to supply it. And he gratefully acknowledges that from no quarter to which he applied has he failed to receive most ready help and encouragement.

While he has endeavoured to impart to his account some-

¹ *Memorials of All Saints' Church, Maidstone*, by Walter B. Gilbert. 1866.

A more recent work has appeared by Mr. Russell ; but, covering as it does the wider field of the Town of Maidstone, only a small portion is given to the History of the Church, and that contains little more

thing of the freshness which might interest the general reader, he has also sought in the Notes (and specially in the Appendices, where he has given the *ipsissima verba*¹ of original documents) to meet the more rigid demands of the Antiquary.

If he has occasionally given undue prominence to his own personal sentiments and sympathies, he hopes to be pardoned on the plea of the deep, and ever deepening, interest he has felt in his subject. If, too, as he knows to have been the case, he has occasionally somewhat ruthlessly attempted to demolish some generally accepted local tradition, he trusts that the result of the evidences or arguments he has adduced will prove his justification.

In writing the lives of the successive Clergy who have been connected with the Church, or in describing the various Monuments which cover its walls, he has not been content to give mere names and dates, or the bare words of Epitaphs, but has tried to invest, as far as he possibly could, the subject of each with such details of time and circumstance as would give to the individual thus commemorated something of the interest which attaches to, and makes up the semblance of, a living reality. For instance, in the person of John Astley² appears a cousin to Queen Elizabeth, on her mother's side; in his second wife, a sister-in-law of than a *réchauffé* of preceding works: the Author has therefore not referred to it as an authority in the following pages.

¹ In giving Extracts from original MSS., the Author has adhered to the mode of spelling adopted in every case.

² See page 151.

the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey; while Lawrence Washington¹ was most probably a member of that branch of the Washington family from whom was descended the first President of the United States.

In one portion of his projected work the Author regrets that he has found himself utterly unable to fulfil his promise and carry out his own intentions. He had hoped to introduce copious extracts from the Parish Registers; but on entering upon that branch of his subject he found himself confronted with what would well-nigh constitute the work of a lifetime, and would expand his volume to portentous proportions; consequently, in that Chapter (VIII.) he has thought it better to content himself with giving an outline of the general character of what presents a mine, or rather a gold-field, of local history, and leave the enticing labour of digging up and collecting these nuggets of genealogy to some future explorer of more leisure and greater aptitude.

He desires to record his deep sense of obligation to the many friends who have so kindly and readily aided him in his researches; to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, for extending to him that privilege which he enjoyed under his Grace's predecessors, of free and unrestricted access to the Registers and MS. Records preserved in the Muniment Room of Lambeth Library; also to the Librarian, W. S. Kershaw, Esq., for obliging help; to Sir Albert Woods, C.B., Garter King-at-Arms, and to G. E. Cokayne, Esq., Norroy King, etc., for most valuable information and suggestions on

¹ See page 168.

Heraldic and Genealogical points, which the College of Arms could alone supply ; to R. Garnett, Esq., LL.D., and all the officials in the Reading Room of the British Museum, as also to W. de Gray Birch, Esq., of the Manuscript Department, for most hearty aid in searching out the stores of knowledge contained in that National Treasure-House of learning ; to C. T. Martin and Walford D. Selby, Esqs., for their constant readiness to unfold to him the wealth of English History stored up in the Public Record Office ; to W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, for many valuable suggestions, and for obtaining the Council's permission to reproduce from their Plates the impressions of Ancient Tiles found in the Church ; to J. Challenor Smith, Esq., for help in examining the more ancient Wills under his care in the "Literary Search Department" of Somerset House ; to J. Brigstocke Sheppard, Esq., LL.D., for many important Extracts from the Canterbury Chapter Records ; and to other Antiquarian friends ;

Also to Herbert Monckton, Esq., the Town Clerk of Maidstone, for very obliging access to the Records of the Borough ; to E. Bartlett, Esq., the Curator of the Museum, for the opportunity of consulting the rich collection of works on local History in that Library, and especially the valuable Volumes of local MSS. forming the collection made by the late Clement Taylor Smythe, Esq. ; to J. H. Turner, Esq., of the County Receiver's Office, for much interesting local information ; and to S. Bath, Esq., for the gift of two

admirable photographs of the interior of the Church: to these—and to others also, whose valuable help is gratefully noted in special portions of the work—the Author desires to tender his warm acknowledgments; he would only add a hope that they will not think their efforts to help him in his undertaking have been “labour lost,” or time thrown away.

Conscious as he is of the many imperfections of his work, in extenuation of which he would plead that it is by no means an easy task to clothe the dry bones of Archæology in an attractive dress, he still hopes he may not have utterly failed in attaining the end he has throughout set before him, of presenting his subject before his Maidstone readers in such form as to show them how closely their “King’s Town” was connected with, and affected by, the momentous changes, Political and Religious, through which the Nation was passing, and to raise what in many cases seems to be little more than a vague pride, into an intelligent appreciative admiration, of their noble Parish Church.

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THE
HISTORY OF MAIDSTONE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH AND ITS ARCHITECTURE.



VERY old English Parish Church, independently of such attractions for each individual parishioner as are based on personal associations or precious memories, has a history of its own, which, for the searching out, will give it a place, and claim for it a share, in the greater history of the nation. This is true of even the smallest and humblest village Church; how much more so then must it be in the case of a Church so eloquent of history and instinct with beauty as All Saints', Maidstone?

Eight hundred years ago—so that unique national record, Domesday Book, tells us—Maidstone had a Parish Church, though we must pass over three centuries more before we can light on any authentic description of such a building. Not till then do we arrive at anything like the *terra firma* of archæology. All before is at best conjecture; save that local tradition, and the discovery of older founda-

tions around, proclaim the undoubted existence of an earlier building.

Of that earlier building, however, What was its form? Who was its founder? are points on which history and tradition alike are silent. So, if we would bridge over the wide gulf of centuries which separates the fourteenth century from the days when the Gospel sound was first heard in Britain, and reached this remote corner of the land, we are compelled to look for our materials in the region of inference or conjecture.

Now there is every reason to believe that where the town of Maidstone now stands, there was in the days of the Roman occupation a large Military Station—whatever doubts Antiquaries may have as to its name—for the many portions of tessellated pavement and fragments of pottery dug up from time to time along the line of Stone Street and in the neighbourhood of Springfields, still preserved in our Museum, go to prove this. The very position here—in almost a right line between Dover, or Richborough, and London, at the fording-place, too, of a navigable river—would imply that it was an important Roman Station, and would in all probability have its temple to some Roman deity, and its Basilica, or court of justice. There is abundant evidence that both the one and the other were often used for Christian worship, and even turned into Christian Churches. For instance, tradition, confirmed by the discovery of an image of the goddess, tells us that St. Paul's Cathedral stands on the site of a Temple of Diana; while it is known that so late as the sixth century a somewhat ruinous Basilica was standing on the site of the Cathedral at Canterbury,¹ and, among other known instances, the Church of Brixworth, in

¹ Sheppard's *Litteræ Cantuar.* Intro., p. xxv.

Northamptonshire, still retains distinct marks of having itself been a Roman Basilica. Is it not then a pardonable effort of the imagination to invest this spot, close to the old ferry across the river (for Maidstone had no bridge till centuries after), with such an interest of its own, connecting it with the long, long ago—to suggest that here may once have stood a Temple sacred to some Roman deity, out of which, or in the place of which, Saxon or Norman piety erected a Chapel, small and homely it may have been, to give place in after years to a more goodly and spacious Church, which eventually made way for the present noble pile—that strains of Christian prayer and praise now resound where in days gone by the “*idol hymn*” was raised by a benighted Roman soldiery?

Our first landmark appears in “Domesday Book,”¹ which tells us that at least as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor (above eight hundred years ago) Maidstone could boast a Parish Church. While in another almost contemporaneous MS. volume, preserved in the Chapter library at Canterbury, and distinguished by the name of the “*Monastic Domesday*,” as consisting of extracts from the King’s Domesday Book, of all items having special reference to lands belonging to the convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, occurs a statement that a parcel of land in Maidstone

¹ The entry in Domesday Book opens thus: “*Ipsē Archiepiscopus tenet MEDDESTANE. Pro x solins se defendit. Terra est xxx carucarum. In dominio sunt iii carucæ. Et xxv villani, cum xxi bordarii habent xxv carucas. Ibi ecclesia,*” etc., which may be thus rendered in English: “The Archbishop himself holds Meddestane. It answers for ten sulings. There is the arable land of thirty teams. In demesne there are three teams, and twenty-five villans with twenty-one bordars have twenty-five teams. A Church there,” etc. The entire record is given *in extenso* in Appendix A (1).

(called a *suling*) was charged with a rent of 15s., to be paid annually to the Mother Church of Canterbury, then styled "Ecclesia Sanctæ Trinitatis," showing that there existed thus early a direct connection between Maidstone and Canterbury.¹

From this time forward, for three centuries, only casual entries in various ancient records tend to throw any light on the state of the Maidstone Church during the so-called "Dark Ages." Yet, casual and slight though they are, they are of no little value. For instance, the Archbishops' Registers at Lambeth Palace tell us that Ordinations were frequently held here by Archbishops Winchelsey and Reynolds, between the years 1296 and 1320, clearly indicating that Maidstone Parish Church even then held an important position in the diocese; while a fact (apparently not noticed by any writer of the History of Maidstone, yet recorded fully in Archbishop Islip's Register, at Lambeth) shows that not only was it an important Ecclesiastical centre, but that the earlier Church of St. Mary must itself have been a spacious building, for in the year 1351 Archbishop Islip selected it as the scene of a General Diocesan Synod, to which he cited, for the purpose of deliberating upon certain weighty matters which had been submitted to him by the Apostolic See, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, all the Abbots, Priors, the heads of Chapters, Convents, Colleges, and the clergy of the different towns in his diocese, requiring them to appear, either in person or by their representatives, at the Parish Church of Maidstone.²

Allusion too should be made to the existence of a bitter

¹ Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), p. 429. See Appendix, A (2).

² Archbishop Islip's Register, f. 50. See Appendix A (3).

jealousy between successive Archbishops and the Canterbury Monks, for Maidstone was once very nearly being greatly benefited by this long-protracted strife. So keenly did Archbishop Baldwin, the brave Crusader Primate, resent the constant interference of the Prior and his Monks, that he designed the foundation of a Chapter of his own outside the city. This was about 1193. However, he did not live to carry it out against the strong opposition and intrigues of the Monks. A century after Archbishop Walter Hubert revived the plan, and selected Maidstone as one of the alternative sites for the proposed Chapter. But again the monks were too influential, and so the project fell through, like the preceding one.

To this jealousy may probably be traced the unfortunate collisions which at different times occurred between the said Convent and the Maidstone Parish Church. To the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury belonged the right to dispense the patronage, and to hold visitations over the several Churches of the diocese, during the vacancy of the See. It is on record that they made at least three attempts to exercise this latter right over that at Maidstone. Among the records of the Chapter at Canterbury is an entry referring to an "abortive attempt" being made for this purpose in the year 1293, after the death of Archbishop Peckham. Again, after that of Archbishop Stratford, in 1348, a similar course was adopted: this time, apparently, with more signal discomfiture; for there occurs in the Canterbury Register a fully detailed account of the Commissary of the Chapter, accompanied by a goodly staff of officials, arriving at Maidstone, and finding the church doors closed in his face and locked, and instead of that recognition of his authority, which he expected, he and his satellites were encountered

by a jeering crowd in the Churchyard, who not only greeted them with threats, but inflicted on them considerable personal insult and outrage.¹ The result was that the *posse comitatus* beat a hasty and undignified retreat, *re infecta*. Once more, in the year 1495, during the vacancy of the See on the death of Archbishop Morton, there was another visitation held by the Chapter authorities, which included Maidstone Parish Church; and this time it would seem with better success, for nothing is on record to the contrary.

It has been said that of the form, or the founder, of the previous building nothing is known either in history or tradition; this only—that it was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. Whether it stood on the site of the present church or not was long uncertain, and so, apparently by tacit consent, the best of the Maidstone historians, like Newton and Beale Poste, were content to leave it.

However, during the recent restoration of the building a very important discovery was made which tends to throw no inconsiderable light on this subject.

In digging up the floor, to lay hot-air flues, a fairly perfect lead coffin, but without inscription or device, was found below the flag-stones at the East end of the South Aisle, in St. Katherine's (or Gould's) Chapel; and fragments of another were also found in the Nave. But it was at the base of the second pier from the West in the southern arcade that the most important discoveries were made. About twelve and a half inches below the floor-level it was found that this pier rested on the north edge of a massive oval-shaped base or plinth, and on further examination it appeared that each of

¹ The record says: "*Nostris clericis ibidem existentibus graves minas, et cruciatus corporum, furibunda rabie intulerunt.*"—8th Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 337. See Appendix A (3).

the other piers of this row had a similar base, but with this noteworthy difference, that each succeeding one eastward rested more and more nearly in the centre of its plinth, showing that an earlier Church must have stood exactly on this site, but with a slightly more Southerly inclination.

This view was confirmed by another and still more interesting discovery, that, close on the North side of this second pier, on the same level with the plinth, there lay a group of tiles, which evidently had formed part of the original pavement of that earlier Church.¹ These tiles were submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, and pronounced by them to belong to the middle of the thirteenth century. They were in all thirty-two in number, five and a half inches square, comprising six different devices; of these the most common was a shield bearing three chevronels; several bore a single fleur-de-lys, others a lion rampant, and a fourth set a quatre-foil, while one had three lions passant on a shield, and another a square "checquy." The arrangement of these tiles was methodical; the fleur-de-lys, the lions passant, and the quatre-foils lay in diagonal squares, and no doubt the same order had been observed with the shield of the three lions and the "checquy;" while the chevronel shields lay alternately-inverted as a border.

At first the hope was to trace out, through the medium of these several shields, some clue to the original founders or principal benefactors of the Church. But this seems impossible. The chevronels certainly were borne by the illustrious Clare family, and also, with some variation of colour, by the Lewknors, but neither family, though Kentish, appears to have been connected with Maidstone. The presence of

¹ See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, December 2nd, 1886, to whom we are indebted for the accompanying impressions.

the three lions passant—the arms of England ever since the time of Richard I.—of the fleur-de-lys, the universally recognised emblem of the Virgin Mary, to whom the Church was originally dedicated—of the quatre-foils too, a very familiar architectural device—leads to the more probable inference that no special local significance can be attached to them, and that they were introduced as the most common and most easily attainable patterns of encaustic tiles at the period when the old Church, of which they formed the pavement, was built; and that might be assumed to be about the close of the thirteenth century.

But a further and even more interesting discovery of tiles was made in the Chancel, under the Choir stalls. Here, in the midst of rubbish and *débris*, thrust in to fill up cavities, were a few tiles of a different date and character; only five, more or less perfect, and a few fragments, yet enough to give some idea of their beauty and design. They represented two sitting figures, each figure extending over two tiles, the upper part of the body on one, and the lower part on the other. One figure was that of a king, sitting crossed-legged on a richly diapered and pierced *sedile* or settle, holding a sceptre in his hand; the other that of a bishop, mitred and robed, with his right hand raised in the act of blessing. These are pronounced to be of a somewhat later date than the others, probably about 1320 or 1330. They are exactly four and three-quarter inches square, and not above half an inch thick. Their smaller size, their comparative thinness, their more elaborate details, and the position in which they were found, all suggest that they had not been designed for pavements, but were mural tiles,—a far more rare and therefore more interesting form of medieval decoration.



ANCIENT TILES FOUND IN THE FLOOR OF ALL SAINTS' CHURCH,
MAIDSTONE.

See page 8.



ANCIENT TILES FOUND IN THE FLOOR OF ALL SAINTS CHURCH,
MAIDSTONE.

See page 8.

To face page 9.



INK PHOTO. SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

ALL SAINTS, WESTMORELAND STREET.—FACING NORTH EAST.

This discovery shows that the present church stands very nearly on the site, if not on the exact lines, of the earlier one. And thus is cleared up a doubt which presented itself to the mind of Beale Poste, when he wrote deploring the absence of all trace of medieval interments, tiles, or anything that would indicate the site of the previous building. "There is no certain proof" (he said) "that the present All Saints' stands on, or is adjoining the site of, a former structure; nor are there any means at present to clear the matter up."¹

Leaving, as we must, the at best conjectural history of the previous Church, we will pass on to take a survey of the present building, and endeavour to trace out from its architectural features an outline of its past history. A casual glance at its exterior would doubtless lead to the inference, drawn from its almost unbroken series of Perpendicular windows, that it was reared in the closing years of the fourteenth century. But enter, and take up a position near the West door, and a very different conclusion forces itself on the mind. While the range of pillars throughout corresponds in proportions and capitals, there is a marked difference between the arches of the Chancel and those of the Nave. The broader four-centred spans of the former confirm the impression made by the glance at the exterior, and indicate fourteenth century work; but the narrower two-centred arches, which give so charming an air of lightness to the Nave, claim to be well nigh a century older. While several other points of detail to be noted help to substantiate that claim,—a claim which will doubtless be regarded by some readers as a startling innovation on the recognised traditions of the town,—they will doubtless point to the language used by a succession of

¹ Beale Poste's *History of All Saints' College*, p. 94.

authorities, by whom it is distinctly asserted that Archbishop Courtenay was the *builder* of their noble Church from its very foundations, and hesitate to accept the above account.

There is undoubtedly a formidable array of so-called authorities, from Kilburn of the seventeenth century to Russell of the present day, nearly all echoing from each other the same story. To controvert such a body of opinion we must first examine what that opinion is worth, and then on what it was really based. We have named Kilburn¹ as the oldest of these writers, though Camden, who lived in the preceding century, is generally appealed to as the great authority on this point. Now Camden in his *Britannia* himself really says nothing about the building of the Church, and only mentions the College as the undoubted work of Courtenay; while Dr. Philemon Holland, who edited his work many years after, does interpolate the statement that Archbishop Courtenay "erected a fair collegiate Church" here.

But between the publication of Camden's original work and Dr. Holland's edition of it, Kilburn had published his *Topographie of Kent*, wherein he says, "Courtenay pulled down the Hospital, and erected there a College for secular priests to the honour of All Saints; and also erected the Collegiate Church, in which he was intombed." Now the value of Kilburn's testimony on such a point will be appreciated when it is added that he says the "Parish Church was called St. Faith's!" About the same time comes Philipott,² also a Kentish man, who, writing in 1658, says that Courtenay, having pulled down the old Hospital,

¹ *Topographie of Kent*, by Richard Kilburn (1659), p. 178.

² Philipott's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 228.

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INK- PHOTO, SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

ALL SAINTS', MAIDSTONE.—FACING NORTH WEST.

"instituted a College upon the *ruins of it*,¹ for secular priests, devoted to the honour of All Saints', and also erected the Collegiate Church, as the walls, diapered in sundry places with his paternal coat, do easily evince." Thus was the tale copied by each succeeding writer (generally improved upon), until more recently Gilbert, in his *Memorials of All Saints' Church*, declares that "the credit of rebuilding the Church at Maidstone as it now stands, is due to Archbishop Courtenay." And lastly, Mr. Russell in his History of the town, says, "It may be supposed that All Saints' occupies pretty nearly the site of St. Mary's, the only difference perhaps being that it stands a little more to the westward than did the building which it superseded."

All these have clearly copied the idea each from the one who went before him, and so have perpetuated the theory,—a theory which it will be our endeavour to show is really without any solid foundation,—while the opinions of such writers as Newton, Hasted, and Beale Poste, whose works bear the impress of personal investigation and independent research, will be appealed to as supporting the view already sketched in outline.

The first writer to question the theory that the old Parish Church of St. Mary was demolished, and an entirely new fabric erected by Archbishop Courtenay was Newton, the first real historian of Maidstone. He says that the Archbishop "obtained leave of Richard II. to convert the Parish Church into a Collegiate Church, and to fit it up for the use

¹ The very circumstantial character of this statement carries with it its own refutation, considering the present College stands on one side of the river and the old Hospital stood on the other, about a quarter of a mile lower down the stream.

of Warden and Chaplains of his new College, which he soon after did, and dedicated it to All Saints'." He goes on to say: "It was a common custom in those times to make Parochial Churches Collegiate. This was done at Ashford and Wye, and other places in this County. Archbishop Peckham is called the 'Founder' of the Church at Wingham, because he converted or changed the Parish Church, before erected, into a Collegiate Church in 1278."¹ Hasted clearly takes the same view, for he speaks of "the alterations Courtenay made in the Church, for the convenience of the members of his new College."² Then Whichcord seems to adopt the same view. He says: "In the nineteenth year of the reign of King Richard, A.D. 1395, William de Courtenay obtained the king's license to convert the Parish Church of St. Mary at Maidstone into a Collegiate Church, for one Master or Warden and as many Chaplains or other ministers as he should think fit;"³ though he strangely contradicts himself afterwards by saying, "Archbishop Courtenay, when he contemplated founding his College, pulled down the old Parish Church, and rebuilt the present edifice on the same site."⁴ And lastly, Beale Poste, probably the soundest Antiquary of them all, says: "The terms of Courtenay's license from the Crown are usually interpreted as implying that it empowered him to make the Parish Church Collegiate." And again thus tersely puts the case: "The Church was so considerable a part of the College establishment, that strictly it may be said to have been the most important feature of it; as the

¹ Newton's *Maidstone*, pp. 44, 45.

² Hasted's *Kent* (folio ed.), ii. 119.

³ Whichcord's *All Saints' Church*, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

College was founded for the Church, and not the Church for the College."

So diametrically opposite are the views thus arrayed against each other,—the one class, on the plan of "follow my leader," claiming Archbishop Courtenay as not only the founder, but the actual *builder* of the present Church; the other regarding him as little more than the judicious and liberal adapter of a noble building already existing to the requirements of his new College. In this conflict of opinions, which is right?

It may be asked, What was the design and intention of the archbishop? After an interval of five hundred years it is not often an easy matter to read the mind of even an Archbishop on such a point. Happily, however, there does remain just enough evidence to furnish the desired clue. Among the "Patent Rolls" preserved in the National Record Office is the original licence, granted by Richard II. to the Archbishop, and it is no doubt an echo of the petition in which Courtenay had expressed his wish. In it we read that the king empowers the archbishop to carry out his proposed plan, which is thus described: "That the Archbishop, being very desirous to promote the extension and improvement of Divine Worship, is intent on constituting and endowing the Parish Church of St. Mary, Maidstone, for the use of a certain College, and the King is graciously pleased to give him licence to that effect."²

Nor is the King's licence the only clue. In the Chapter Library at Canterbury is a contemporary copy of the Bulla which Pope Boniface IX. sent to the Archbishop, not only sanctioning his project, but authorising him to collect

¹ Beale Poste's *College of All Saints*, p. 93.

² Patent Rolls, 19 Richard II., Part I, m. 11. See Appendix A (4).

fourpence in the pound from all ecclesiastical benefices within his Province for the purpose of building his College. In that Bull the substance of the Archbishop's petition is thus referred to: "That we would deign to concede to you the liberty to constitute the Parish Church into a Collegiate one," etc., "for which object the Pope grants full and free authority."¹

The occurrence of the word *erigere* in both these documents has no doubt led to the mistaken view that the Archbishop *erected* the Church, whereas the word is clearly used (as in similar documents) in a figurative sense, as constituting it a Collegiate Church; and in neither document is there any distinct allusion to any plan of building the Church anew. Moreover, in the Papal Bull it is expressly stipulated that the proposed change in the character of the Church shall not take place until the resignation or death of the then Rector.

From such documentary evidence, then, there is little or no ground for the assumption that Archbishop Courtenay was the *builder* of the present Church.

Appeal must now be made to the fabric itself, as to how far it will confirm, or throw doubt upon, that claim. What does it say?

In its external lines and general design it was clearly the work of one time and one mind. Whichcord has well said: "No architect would have any hesitation in attributing the complete re-edification to the same period."² The question is, *Was that Courtenay's period?* The plinth-line runs round the entire building, it embraces every buttress, and

¹ Registers of Christ Church, Canterbury, S. f. 25. See Appendix A (5).

² *Whichcord's History*, p. 10.

the tower too; while a noteworthy deviation in its level only furnishes additional evidence of unity of design; for it starts on the South side of the West door about two feet higher than on the North side, to adapt itself to the rise in the ground along the South and East end; and then at the North-east angle of the Nave drops to the lower level, which it maintains till it reaches the West door again. The same continuity of line is noticeable in the upper string-course also, which runs round the building; and (with a single exception) in the dripstone under the windows.

It is when the windows come under examination that the real history of the fabric asserts itself. Windows, when they undoubtedly form a part of an original building, are (as is well known) the best and safest guides as to the date of that building. But it is no less generally known that it was a frequent custom, especially in the Perpendicular period, for architects, instead of restoring some window (noble or ignoble as the case might be) of an earlier period which had fallen into decay—or on the plea of obtaining more light—to remove all trace of preceding ages, and to substitute entirely new work of the style of their own day. Of this custom even that noble ecclesiastical architect, William of Wykeham, has left examples in Winchester Cathedral, and elsewhere.

Now in All Saints' Church all the windows (with one notable exception, the westernmost window on the North side of the Chancel or Choir) clearly belong to the time of Courtenay. But is there any reason to suppose that they formed part of the original building as it now stands? Take the group on the north side of the Nave. They are identical in width and in tracery. Had they risen with the walls, is it not reasonable to presume that they and the spaces they

were to occupy would have corresponded? Such, however, is very far from being the case. One has ample space for hood-moulding and returns; another seems squeezed in between the buttresses, so that the returns are cut off; while a third has the very jambs buried in the buttress on either side. Then again the one which has elbow room betrays by the variation of the masonry on the sides (what the irregularity in the position of the others also shows) that these Perpendicular windows were all of them palpably insertions in a building already existing.

One word regarding that one exceptionally beautiful window already alluded to. The present one is an exact conscientious restoration;¹ and as such it proclaims the existence of a window of earlier date than its neighbours; it tells plainly that the original (of which it is a perfect repetition) had been called into form at a time when the gracefully flowing curves of the Decorated Period had not quite disappeared, to give place to the colder, stiffer lines of the Perpendicular style.

The interior of the building, too, has its witnesses, ready to give similar corroborative evidence in addition to that supplied by the arches of the Nave, as already noticed. There are the North and South entrance doors; there is, between the latter and the Western angle, a smaller door, now degraded into a rubbishy recess, which originally opened into the winding newel staircase leading to the belfry; there is also on the North wall a still smaller doorway leading by a small stair to an opening overhead, which gave access to a rood-loft. Now all these doorways, with their more pointed arches and delicate mouldings, may justly

¹ This restoration was carried out in 1864, under the superintendence of E. Stevens, Esq., architect, of Maidstone.

claim to have belonged to a period before Courtenay introduced his alterations.

Another, and a no less important branch of evidence, remains to be adduced from the presence of two at least of the four Chantry Chapels.

A passing word may be here introduced on the subject of these *Chantry*—or as they came to be called—*Side-Chapels*.¹ A Chantry-Chapel, or side Altar, is that part of a Church added or adapted, and endowed by some devout parishioner, for the purpose of having, in addition to, and independently of, the regular services of the Church, special Masses (or prayers) for the dead, chanted for the souls of departed relatives, as well as for the founder's own soul, while supposed to be in Purgatory. It was a pious, though a superstitious, custom of a misguided age. After the Reformation these Chantry-Chapels were absorbed into the Churches, and came to be known as Side-Chapels, while the *credence* table or ledge, for the bread and wine before consecration, and the *piscina* or bowl for washing the holy vessels, and sometimes the Altar steps, have been left. These Chantry-Chapels were often built out at the side or end of Nave or Chancel, and then appear like excrescences, disfiguring the general *contour* of the building. Happily such was not the case here. Each had been introduced *within* the Church, if not built up with it. In each instance the east end of a side Aisle of Nave or Chancel was utilised for the purpose, with the result that the original outline of the Church has not been broken in upon, and its symmetrical,

¹ The term *Chantry* is often inaccurately applied to the portion of the building containing the side altar. It is strictly the *endowment* for the support of the priest officiating there. Hence they are called "Chantry-Chapels."

and what may be called its symbolical, proportions have never been disturbed.

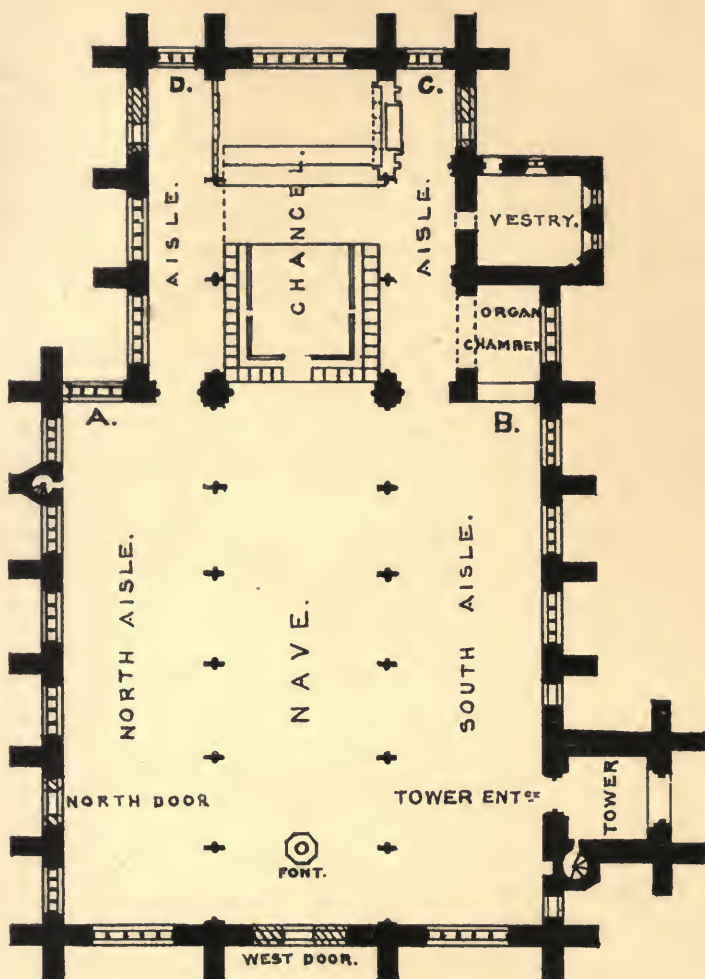
All Saints' clearly had four such Chapels. Of these the one at the east end of the north aisle of the Nave is undoubtedly the oldest. The elegant little door in the north wall (already alluded to) leading by the narrow spiral stair in the rounded buttress to the rood loft¹ overhead, clearly shows this; as also does the now sadly dilapidated niche in the outer angle of the north-east corner, in which it may be safely assumed there formerly stood an image of the Virgin Mary, the Patron Saint of the Church itself, and to whom this Chantry, or side altar, was specially dedicated. The date of this, St. Mary's Chantry Chapel, like that of the Church itself, is unknown, nor does vestige of *piscina* or *credence* table (which probably stood out on a pillar, for it would seem to have had no South wall) remain to furnish a clue

Of the corresponding Chapel on the opposite side of the Nave, commonly known as "Vinter's," or "Gould's Chapel," there is evidence to show that it existed at least a quarter of a century before Courtenay carried out his alterations. In the Lambeth Registers² appears, under date A.D. 1369, a record of a license being granted by Archbishop Whittlesey to Robert Vyntier (in a similar entry in the Register in the Canterbury Chapter Library the name is spelt Vineter), to endow an Altar with land known as "Gould's estate," for two priests to offer masses for the souls of the said Robert Vyntier and his family; and in another entry³ at the close

¹ A *rood* loft was the beam or ledge on which stood the Crucifix, so called from the old Saxon word for a cross.

² Archbishop Whittlesey's Register, f. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 82.



GROUND PLAN OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF MAIDSTONE.

A. THE ALTAR OF ST. MARY.

B. THE ALTAR OF ST. KATHERINE. (VINTER'S CHAPEL.)

C. THE ALTAR OF ST. THOMAS. (ARUNDELL CHAPEL.)

D. THE CHAPEL OF THE FRATERNITY OF CORPUS CHRISTI.



SCALE OF FEET.

of the following year,¹ Robert Vyntier having died in the interval, his executor, Robert Boume, Rector of Southflete, appoints Roger atte Steghele to be Chaplain at the Chapel, and describes it as lying "at an Altar in the south part of the Nave."² Here arises a question of considerable interest. Was that east end of the South Aisle now for the first time used as a Chantry Chapel, or was not this pious act of Vyntier's the further *endowment* of an Altar previously existing there, as the expression *ad altare* implies?

Now there was undoubtedly an Altar in the Church, dedicated to St. Katherine; for several appointments of priests to such an Altar occur in the Lambeth Registers; and it seems difficult to find any other assignable site for it. Considering that St. Katherine, the young virgin Martyr of Alexandria in the third century, "done to death" under a broad heavy wheel bristling with sharp knives, or daggers (so the legends tell), was undoubtedly a very popular Saint, as the one specially dear to spinsters, in memory of her youthful devotion, and had a shrine, in most large Churches, and clearly had one in old St. Mary's, is it not more than probable (as the accurate Antiquary Beale Poste suggests³)

¹ The will of Robert Vyntier (Archbishop Langham's Register, f. 120 a.), dated July 5th, 1368, and proved the following month, contains the wish that his body may be buried "*in Monasterio Beate Marie de Bozele ubi Abbas dicti loci sepulturam in Monasterio assignare voluerit.*"

² The entry runs thus;—"2 Kal. Oct. A.D. 1370. *Apud Saltcode, Dominus Rogerus atte Steghele, Capellanus, institutus fuit ad Cantariam perpetuam in Ecclesia Parochiali de Maidestan ad altare ex parte Australi navis dicte Ecclesie patenter constructum pro anima Roberti Vyntier de Maidestan, etc.*"—*Whittlesey's Register*, f. 82. b. A writer in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. ix., p. 412, erroneously places Gould's (or Vinter's) Chantry on the *north side of the choir*, which was clearly that assigned to the "Fraternity of Corpus Christi."

³ *History of the College, etc.*, p. 54.

that this South Chantry was originally associated with her name, and eventually came to be called "Vinter's" after its latest benefactor, and "Gould's" Chapel from the land with which he endowed it? Unhappily the only evidence that could have helped to clear up all doubt as to the real origin and date of this Chapel has been destroyed. In that South-east corner all that has been left by the mutilating "axes and hammers"—whether wielded by the ignorant fanaticism of the seventeenth century, or the utilitarian spirit of a far more recent age—whether directed to remove all vestige of pre-Reformation piety, or to clear away all obstruction to the winding staircase which led up to the private gallery in the South Aisle—all that has been left of what could have given a clue to the date of this Chapel, is hopelessly lost; and what does remain of a massive upright stone, now chiselled away flush with the wall, only suffices to mock and tantalise the inquirer by leaving him to conjecture how beautiful a deeply projecting *piscina* bowl and *credence* ledge once stood here, supported by a richly carved shaft that rested on the raised Altar-step, exhibiting the skill of a craftsman of the fourteenth century, or perhaps earlier still, when Decorative Ecclesiastical art was in its glory; for it is scarcely necessary to say that the poor debased arch and shallow ledge which did duty for "restoration" some forty years ago, offers no clue to the original date or character of the work which Robert Vinter, or perhaps some still earlier benefactor, designed, but, like the wretched whitewashed ceiling (recently happily removed), was an insult and an offence in the midst of so much true beauty.

A third, which under its more familiar name of "Arundel's Chapel" might be assumed to belong to a period subsequent

to Courtenay, was probably, like the other two, of much earlier date; and had its place also in the original structure, under the name of "the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr" (Becket). Here the Lambeth Registers again help us. In an entry under the date A.D. 1417,¹ recording the endowment of a Chantry by John Wotton, the first Master of the College, with lands, etc., to the value of £40, it is expressly stated that the proposed Chantry was "at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr," lying on the south part of the Chancel, which he had richly furnished at his own expense. In this Chapel, as his tomb testifies, he was buried, in the place he had in his will specified, "before the altar of St. Thomas."

Some years after, a further endowment of this Chapel, associated with the name of Archbishop Arundel, was made from the tithes of Northflete, by which two more priests, or Fellows, were added to the staff of the College, to say Masses "at the altar of St. Thomas."

Thus, no doubt, it came that in this, as in the former one, the name of the Saint was in time lost in that of the latest, and probably the largest, benefactor; and so St. Katherine's altar became known as "Vinter's" or "Gould's Chapel," and that of St. Thomas the Martyr as the "Arundel Chapel."

And it still seems possible to detect even in the imperfectly decipherable painting on the back of Wotton's tomb a desire to perpetuate in one group the memory of two at least of the three Saints—the Virgin seated on her throne, and St. Katherine with her wheel beside her, and a third female figure too defaced for identification.

¹ The entry in Chichele's Register, f. 327 a, runs thus:—"Fundatio Cantarie in Ecclesia Collegiata Omnium Sanctorum de Maidestan, etc., ad altare Sancti Thome Martyris in Ecclesia prefata ex parte australi consecratum et propriis sumptibus meis honorifice constructum."

The fourth Chapel may be here mentioned, though clearly belonging to a later time than Courtenay's. It is the one at the East end of the North Chancel Aisle, and was always associated with the extinct "Fraternity of Corpus Christi," which formerly had its home in what is now called Earl Street. In the Charter granted for its foundation in 1441, it was provided that the Chaplain of the Brotherhood should be allowed to say Masses for the souls of the deceased brethren in All Saints' Church. And this part of the Chancel is always held to have been their Chapel, where two steps of the raised altar still remain.

Allusion has been made to the symbolical character of the proportions of the Church. This is a feature which would hardly strike the casual observer, however much he might be attracted by the general beauty of the interior. To this symbolism, running as it does throughout the building, Archbishop Benson drew special attention in his sermon on the re-opening of the Church in February 1886. It may be interesting to notice here some of the more striking illustrations of it. For instance, the nave is 99 (3 times 33) feet long, its width is within a few inches of 93 (3 times 31) feet; the Chancel measures in the clear 60 (3 times 20) feet long, and either side aisle of it, the same in length, is 12 (3 times 4) feet wide; while the Choir proper is also 60 feet long, and 30 (3 times 10) feet wide, forming two squares of 30 feet each. The Tower, too, and even the Vestry, will admit of being tested by the same rule. These, if not always exact to a few inches, are approximately the dimensions of the several parts. Is it possible to suppose that such proportions were purely accidental, and not parts of one general design? May we not unhesitatingly adopt the theory suggested by his Grace, that "If you would take the plans, and examine

the dimensions, you would find them written all over with the figure *three*, undoubtedly with the intention of keeping before men's minds the Holy Trinity, and the GOD whom they worshipped"?¹ Another instance of symbolism here was also noticed to the writer by the Archbishop. Have not the arrangement of the pillars a symbolical significance — the twelve in the Nave, six on either side, representing the Apostles, and the four in the Chancel, two on either side, the Evangelists?

The Church originally had only four doors; one at the West end of the Nave, one leading under the Tower into the South Aisle, and (corresponding with it on the opposite side) one in the North Aisle, with the small "priest's door" in the South Chancel wall, directly facing the College gateway.

The Western door was probably rarely used except on State occasions, or privately by the Archbishops when passing from the Palace into the Church, up the steps (traces of which remain in a recess in the garden), through the stone archway still visible in the western boundary wall of the Churchyard. The Tower entrance on the South would be used by the College dependants, and the inhabitants of Knightrider Street and Stone Street, and by those coming from under "the Cliffe" up the broad flight of steps at the South-west corner, while the North door would be the general entrance from the town. Here great changes have been made, which should be noticed. An old print, given in Hasted's *History of Kent*, shows that even a century ago this door was protected by a flat battlemented porch, with a square-headed doorway, having escutcheons on either side of it. When, or why, this porch was removed local history saith

¹ See Report of the Sermon in the *Maidstone Journal* of February 27th, 1886.

not. All that now remains to show that it ever had a place there is the outline of it, which may be traced in the pavement outside the door. This was clearly the ordinary entrance from the town side—and a goodly entrance it was; for the road leading to it from Mill Street, passing along the gable end of the old building now used as a porter's lodge, then came in a straight line to this North door, giving an open view of the most ornamental side of the fine old Parish Church, to which it afforded an imposing approach. But what with a wall and a row of neglected trees running across, and blocking the way, the open view and imposing approach had till quite recently been sacrificed to the encroachments which successive owners of the Palace, in their desire for greater privacy and an enlarged garden plot, had been allowed to perpetrate; and the church-goer from the town had to find his way along a narrow winding alley (paved with gravestones, and hemmed in between two rows of very unornamental iron railings), nearly the length of the Church, to reach the North door.¹

The fourth entrance was that commonly known as the "priest's door." This no doubt had its ordinary place in the south wall of the Choir and Chancel aisle. This doorway itself has disappeared in the wider door of the subsequently added Vestry; yet an interesting evidence of its former existence remains. Between the Vestry door into the Church and the South door into the Chancel aisle is a small stoup, or stone basin, in the wall. In mediæval times every person entering a Church would sprinkle himself with holy water which lay in the stoup on his right hand. Now

Very recently great improvements have been carried out here under the superintendence of Hubert Bensted, Esq., Architect, of Maidstone.

the position of this stoup on the left hand of the door has perplexed many persons, though the solution of the difficulty is simple enough in the fact that it belongs, not to the present door, but to the extinct "priest's door," relative to which it would be in its right position.

The Vestry, as has been said, was subsequently added to the Church. Of this there are several indications, though the later work has been so cleverly bonded into the old that it is impossible to detect on the outside any signs of the addition. In the upper chamber, for instance, now used for the organ-pipes, the drip-stone may be seen running along inside, showing that that was originally an outer wall. Then the square label-moulding over the arch of the door into the Church, with a double rose in each of the spandrils—"England's blended roses bought so dear," emblems of the Tudors, never adopted till, after the battle of Bosworth Field, the marriage of Henry VII. of Lancaster and Elizabeth of York united the red and white roses,—shows that it could not have been before the latter part of the fifteenth century. And Gilbert, in his *Memorials of the Church*,¹ states that Dr. Lee, who was master of the College from 1470 to 1494, obtained the sanction of the then Archbishop, Cardinal Morton, and of the Pope, to levy a tax of fourpence in the pound on all the clergy of the province to carry out this and other alterations and improvements in the Church; and this closely coincides with the date suggested by the architectural features. In its original construction the Vestry had a pent roof, with the gable facing the south, as extant engravings and drawings show; and it was not till 1846 that

¹ Page 49. Unfortunately he does not give the authority on which he makes this statement; and the present writer has been unable to find any. He therefore holds Gilbert responsible for it.

the walls were raised and embattled to correspond with the rest of the Church.

When the "priest's door" was thus absorbed in the Vestry, an entrance into the South Aisle of the Chancel became necessary; and the present door into the "Arundel Chapel" was no doubt then introduced. That into the North Chancel Aisle is said to have been made as recently as the year 1795.

In the preceding remarks and arguments the attempt has been made—and it is hoped not altogether unsuccessfully—to show that there is nothing either of documentary or architectural evidence to support the traditional theory that Archbishop Courtenay was the actual *builder* of this fabric; but much to prove that the building existed in all its present proportions and outline many years before his time; and that Hasted has accurately described the share which Courtenay had in the work when he says that the munificent Archbishop "rebuilt the chancel, and refitted it" for the use of his College staff. One argument advanced in support of this locally cherished theory is the use of the words "*fundarat ab imo*," as applied to Courtenay on the Inscription which Weever says used to run round the verge of his tomb. Now the word does not originally, or even conventionally in mediæval use, necessarily imply that he was the founder, in the sense of being *the builder*, but rather (which is strictly true in this case), that he provided the "funds" for the worthier endowment of his proposed College: and moreover the value (or valuelessness) of this Inscription will be examined in the next Chapter in connection with his burial-place.

What he most probably did may be thus described: without disturbing in any way the beautiful proportions of the fabric, or its outer walls, beyond the insertion, as already noticed, of windows of his own time, he would reconstruct the

Chancel—thus accounting for the wider spanned arches, and the slightly lower pitched roof—and introduce the Stalls, and arrange them for the requirements of the Master and Fellows of his College. Such an explanation of his action would closely accord with the terms of Papal Bull and Royal Charter alike.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHANCEL ; ITS CHOIR-STALLS, AND ALTAR-TOMBS.



IT is in the Chancel, or Choir, that we meet with the unquestioned work of Archbishop Courtenay. Here everything is suggestive of him, whether in general design or in minute detail ; and what was not completed during his lifetime was evidently still the working out of his plans. Philipott says that in his time (1658) the Church walls were “diapered in sundry places with Archbishop Courtenay’s paternal coat,” and adduces this as evidence that he was the builder of the Church ;¹ an inference which has been already shown to be erroneous. Whether or not his statement of fact was more accurate, it is now impossible to prove, for not a trace of any such ornamentation remains. The discovery of those mural tiles noticed in the last chapter² in no way qualifies this, as they were doubtless introduced into the Church, three-quarters of a century before Courtenay’s time. Every vestige of what may have once been has disappeared long since, under the infliction of two centuries and a quarter of scraping and plastering and whitewashing, under the name of “improvements.”

Happily, however, the Archbishop has left behind, in more

¹ *Villare Cantianum*, p. 228.

² Pages 6, 7.

permanent form than wall-painting, some valuable tokens of a desire to perpetuate within these walls, not his own name, so much as his strong affection for several of the members of his family. For we have in the Choir Stalls a touching trait of Courtenay's character; and some beautiful bold workmanship, too, deserves a more than brief passing allusion. At the back of these doubtless originally rose, as the sockets, or *mortise* marks still visible would indicate, panelled or open screens, probably too overhanging canopies of tabernacle work. With sorrow be it said, however, that even the deep carvings of these "*Miserere seats*"¹ have not altogether escaped mutilation from chisel or pocket-knife.

There were originally twenty-eight of these Stalls, each with its massive oak seat working on hinges, with rich carvings on the underside of the projecting brackets. But the eight at the West end of the Chancel, four on either side of the Centre Aisle, have disappeared, and seats of plain deal screwed down have been substituted for them! What were the designs on these eight missing ones, which were generally regarded as the most honourable seats, for the Master and officiating Chaplains, and therefore no doubt the most elaborate in workmanship, there is no record extant.² Of the twenty still remaining, five have heraldic devices, the others only contain flowers, leaves, or figures.

¹ These seats are supposed to have been so called as being constructed in *commiseration* for the old and infirm priests when required to perform a long service in a standing posture, because when turned up they would form a slight seat against which one might lean and support himself.

² A correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxiv., p. 201 (1794) says on the bracket of the first Stall from the Nave on the South side, which would be the Master's seat, was the figure of a Priest, which, he suggests, would probably be that of Dr. J. Wotton, the first Master.

Beginning with the seat at the South-West corner, we find, impaled with those of the See of Canterbury, the arms of the Archbishop himself,¹ three Torteaux with a label of three points, carrying a *mitre* on each point, in allusion to the three Bishoprics which he held in succession, St. David's, Exeter, and Canterbury. The next Stall Eastward has again the Courtenay arms with a *mullet* on each point of the label, indicating his third brother (Edward), whose son Edward eventually succeeded to the Earldom of Devon on the death of his grandfather. With one intervening Stall the Courtenay arms again occur, with three *crescents* on each point of the label, representing, though in a very unusual arrangement of the crescent, the shield of his second brother, Thomas. While in the fourth Stall from the east, the arms of the family once more appear having nine Torteaux, three on each label, the distinctive device adopted by his fifth, and evidently favourite, brother, Philip (of Powderham Castle),² whose son Richard the Archbishop had adopted and educated, and whom he mentions in his will in terms of

¹ The origin of the Arms of the Courtenay family is not without historic interest. In the first Crusade a young cadet of a family, already distinguished among the French nobility, bore himself so bravely that he rose in high favour, and was accepted as the suitor of a fair kinswoman of Godfrey de Bouillon, the Crusader King of Jerusalem, who was himself a descendant of the ancient Counts of Boulogne. In recognition of this honourable alliance young Courtenay was permitted to bear the Arms of his Royal kinsman (on a field OR, three torteaux, or roundlets GULES); which have been retained to this day as the arms of the English branch of the Courtenay family. See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, etc., end of Chapter LXI.

² These particulars are gathered from *Cleveland's Genealogical History of the Courtenay Family*, Book 111, Ch. xi., p. 265, and he says (at p. 270) that the Arms of Philip were "OR 3 torteaux with a label of AZURE of three points charged with nine plates for distinction."

special endearment, calling him his "dearest son and pupil," to whom also he bequeathed the sum of one hundred Marks, and several valuable books in case he became a Priest, and his best Mitre should he become a Bishop—a wish which was fulfilled, as he was raised to the See of Norwich in 1413.

There remains yet one more heraldic shield to be examined, that on the Eastern Stall on the North side of the Chancel. It bears a *Chevron engrailed* between three leaves, and seems to have presented an enigma to previous writers on the Church. Nearly all of them have passed it by without notice; Whichcord indeed refers to it, but only says, "the bearings of it are as yet unappropriated;" and Hasted¹ suggests that they may be the arms of John Wotton, the first Master of the College; but the Kentish Wottons, of which family he was a member, bore the *Chevron* only, without leaves. But this very coat, *Chevron* between three laurel leaves, is assigned to Guido de Mone² (Bishop of St. David's), who had been the last of the Rectors of St. Mary's, and was so highly esteemed by Archbishop Courtenay as to be selected by him as one of his Executors. What then more natural than that the Archbishop should desire some memento to be placed in this group, next to his own brothers, of one who was clearly so dear to him? Thus, may not the mystery of the hitherto unassigned shield find its solution in the affection of the Archbishop for his *Fidus Achates* and bosom friend, Guido de Mone?

Three raised Monuments, technically called Altar-Tombs, originally stood within the Chancel; each with its brass

¹ Additional MSS., in British Museum, No 5479, f. 59.

² MS. note in copy of Bishop Godwin's *De Presulibus* in Ashmole MSS., No. 8569, referred to in Bedford's *Blazonry of Episcopacy*, p. 33. This is more fully considered in *De Mone's Life*.

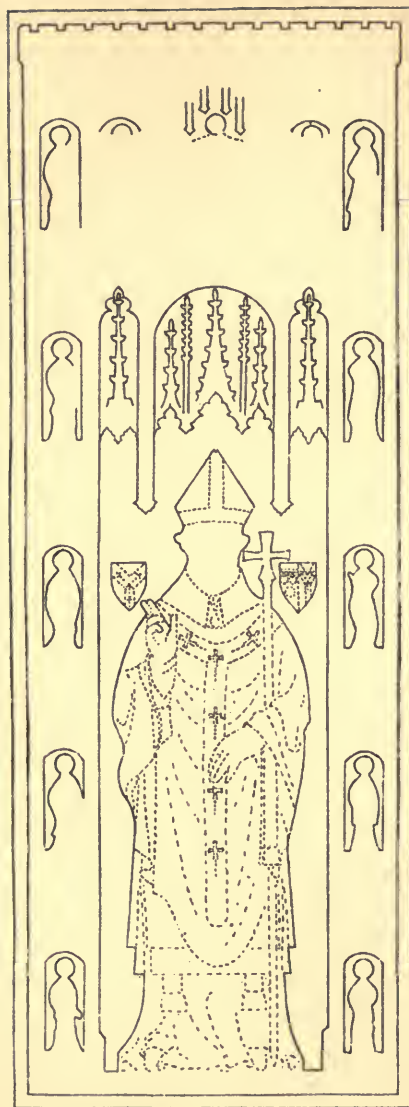
effigy inlaid on its slab; that of Dr. John Wotton on the South side; opposite to it, on the North side, that of Sir Richard Wydville (or Woodville); and in the centre of the Choir, a third, no doubt far more conspicuous and imposing, that of Archbishop Courtenay himself. Of these Wotton's alone retains its original elevation and character; the other two have at different times been degraded from "their high estate," and now lie level with the pavement, of which indeed they form part; the "brasses" of all three have long since disappeared, and only the indents remain to show in outline what they once represented.

In describing the three, priority must in all justice be conceded to that of the noble Founder of the College, and the designer of the present adaptation of the Chancel to its Collegiate use; though it has long ceased to present so imposing an appearance as that of Wotton. Time was when that massive slab of Bethersden marble, now lowered to the pavement level, stood at an elevation of four feet from the ground, and formed the top of a goodly tomb, resting on richly carved and emblazoned sides, and, to use the language of Beale Poste, standing up "a conspicuous object, attracting the eyes of all beholders,"¹ but being found to impede the passage up the aisle, it was lowered to within a few inches of the ground, and being still found an inconvenient obstruction, was reduced to its present position, flush with the pavement.

It is impossible to stand even now at the foot of that massive slab, stripped though it be of its once goodly brass—which doubtless fell a prey to the sacrilegious frenzy of the Puritan soldiers, when in that year of bloody memories, 1648, they obtained possession of the Church, and desecrated

¹ *History of All Saints' College*, p. 87.

To face page 33.



OUTLINED & SKETCHED IN BY S. SILAS & P. H. BATE.

MATRIX OF THE BRASS
COMMEMORATING ARCHBISHOP COURTENAY,
IN ALL SAINTS', MAIDSTONE.

it under General Fairfax—without filling up in conjecture from the indents the details of the picture it must have presented. A slab eleven feet five inches long, and four feet and a half broad, inlaid with the full-length effigy of the bountiful “*fundator*” of that noble pile, the figure itself from the ground to the point of the mitre standing above six feet high, under an elaborate crocketed canopy four feet in depth, with its enamelled shields, must have furnished a study which scarcely another Parish Church, and not many Cathedrals or Abbeys, could have outrivalled. The figure itself must have represented to a rare degree the stately and graceful bearing of one whose personal appearance bore evidence of his high lineage,—that figure not a little set off by the gorgeous vestments of his exalted office as worn in those days, bearing in his hand not the ordinary Episcopal crozier, as on the tomb at Canterbury, but the cross-surmounted staff, the emblem of his Patriarchal position in the English Church. Such labour, such splendour, would hardly have been wasted on a mere cenotaph!

Yet that is the condition to which the rival claim of Canterbury Cathedral would reduce it, pointing to an alabaster recumbent figure of an Archbishop in full pontificals with mitre and crozier,—but with no inscription,—lying near the shrine of St. Thomas at the feet of the tomb of the Black Prince, which local tradition only has assigned as the real burial-place of Archbishop Courtenay.

Hence arises the *quæstio vexata*, “Where was the Archbishop buried?” A History of Maidstone Church would be incomplete which did not attempt to answer that question.

As to the Archbishop’s own wish with regard to his burial, his original Will is most explicit, as also is that of the Codicil

subsequently attached to it,¹ and by which it is partially cancelled. His first thought and wish had been that his body should lie in the heart of his beloved native County of Devon, in Exeter Cathedral, where, too, he had held his first ecclesiastical preferment. There, where three successive Deans already lay buried (*coram Summa Cruce*), in front of the High Rood, he desired to lie, and as his burial at that spot would involve the removal of their bones, he directs that they should be honourably re-interred at his sole charge and cost. However, in his last illness, at the near approach of death, a marked change had come over his feelings and wishes. Maidstone, with its—his own—College, had obtained a deeper hold on his affections than even Devon with the ancestral associations of its Cathedral; and personal humility triumphed over family pride. His wish now was, as dictated to an attendant at his sick bed within a few hours of his death, that “not deeming himself worthy,” as he said, “to be buried in his own Metropolitan, or any other Cathedral, he wished and chose that his burial should be in the Cemetery² of his Collegiate Church of Maidstone, in the place he had himself pointed out to his Squire, Sir John Botelere.”

¹ All the important clauses of the Will, and the Codicil, are given in the Appendix B (1).

² One of the arguments advanced by the “Canterbury Claimants,” against this being the real burial-place of the Archbishop, is based on the use of this word. Assigning the more modern acceptation to the word, even Newton and Beale Poste have described it as being the “Burial-ground” of the Church, and therefore it is argued that the Chancel could not have been meant; whereas Du Cange, the great authority on the meanings of Mediæval Latin terms, expressly says that, while *Cæmeterium* ordinarily means the place where the bodies of the faithful are buried, it also includes the Church itself, when bodies are buried within it. Thus that objection disappears.

After instructions so explicit, it seems strange that any doubt should have ever risen as to the fact of his having been buried there. Yet in spite of that Codicil, in spite of the once goodly tomb and gorgeous brass attesting the fact, and protesting against all rival claims to that honour, a counter-claim is put forth in favour of an unnamed Tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, which can show neither inscription nor escutcheon in support of such a claim.

Let us then examine on what authority is the Canterbury claim based. Camden, Godwin, Somner, Gibson, are generally appealed to in support of it, and certainly they present a formidable array of names, such as one might hesitate to confront :

“ As who shall say, ‘ I am Sir Oracle,
And when I ope my lips let no dog bark.’ ”

But by taking them *seriatim*, and testing their language, it may be found that their testimony on this point is not decisive enough to substantiate the claim put forth on their authority. To begin with, Camden, what does he, the father of England's Antiquaries, really say on this subject? He published in Latin three editions of his “ Britannia ” during his lifetime. These successive editions vary very slightly in the account of Maidstone. In the third, and the last edition for which he was personally responsible, he merely says that “ Maidstone is a neat and populous town, stretched out into a great length. In the middle it has a Palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury, begun by John Ufford, Archbishop, and finished by Simon Islip.¹ Here is likewise one of the two common Gaols (*alterum ergastulum*²) of this County.

¹ Camden's *Britannia* (1594), p. 243.

² For which *carcer* is substituted in the later editions.

But no allusion is made to Courtenay, or his burial. His name is not even mentioned. So much for Camden's testimony. A few years after his death Dr. Philemon Holland published the "Britannia" in English, into which he interpolated much matter for which his author can in no way be held responsible; though Bishop Gibson says "an opinion had got abroad in the world that he consulted Mr. Camden where anything appeared obscure or of a double meaning."¹

Unfortunately Holland so blended his own ideas with Camden's account that it became almost impossible to separate them. Anthony a' Wood says "he has put in it many things which were not written by Camden." Here is a case in point. To Camden's brief mention of Maidstone Holland added that "William Courtenay erected a fair Collegiate Church, in which he, so great a Prelate, and so high born, lieth lowly entombed." Thus Holland really suggests and supports the Maidstone claim.

While Camden was still alive the then successor of Courtenay in the See of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, gave to the world his great work on the "Antiquity of the British Church," and, in speaking of Courtenay's death, would appear to be the first of the writers of that day to assign to him the honour of burial at Canterbury, specifying the place as being "on the south side of the shrine of Thomas a' Becket."² He was soon followed by another historian Bishop, Francis Godwin, of Hereford, who in his *Lives of the English Prelates* adopts almost the very words of Parker, save only that he gives to the martyr of Canterbury his

¹ Gibson's Preface to Camden (1695).

² "*In Ecclesia Cantuariensi juxta feretrum Thomæ Becket ex australi parte sepultus jacet.*" *De Antiquitate*, etc. (1572), p. 303.

canonized title, and describes the tomb as being of alabaster.¹

The authority for this statement may be found in one single mediæval writer, William Thorne, a Monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who lived in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and wrote a work (really an appropriation and continuation of an earlier one by Thomas Sprott, a Monk of St. Augustine's), who gives an account of Archbishop Courtenay's funeral, and says that it was solemnized "in the presence of the king and many of the magnates of the land."² But as Thorne is believed to have died in 1375, twenty years before Courtenay, and the later pages of his MS. must have been the work of some later unnamed and unknown scribe, this testimony is of no real weight.

But to return to Camden's "Britannia" (so often relied on) and its later editors. Bishop Gibson published an edition in 1695, just seventy years after Camden's death, in which, while he endeavours to disintegrate Holland's interpolations (already noticed) from Camden's own original text, and places some extensive "Additions" of his own separately at the end of each County, he brings forward an entirely new authority in support of the Canterbury claim, and that also from Canterbury itself. In his "Additions" to the County of Kent, which seem to be afterwards embodied in the text,³

¹ "*Humatus jacet ad pedes Eduardi Principis ab australi parte feretri Sancti Thomæ sepulchro conditus alabastrino.*" Bishop Godwin's *De Presulibus* (Richardson's Ed., 1743), p. 122.

² "*Eodem anno (1396) ultimo die mensis Julii Magister Willielmus Courteneye Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus rege cum magnatibus terræ tunc presente juxta feretrum Sancti Thomæ traditur sepulture.*" *Chronicon Gulliemi Thorn*, in *Hist. Angl. Decem Scriptorum* (Twysden's Ed.), p. 2197.

³ In subsequent editions of his work Holland's Notes and Gibson's

he says, speaking of Maidstone, "Archbishop Courtenay was a great friend to this town, who built the College here, where he ordered his Esquire, John Boteler, to bury him . . . where yet he has a tomb, and had an epitaph too, which is set down in Weever. But this I rather believe to have been his Cenotaph than his real place of burial; for Mr. Somner tells us that he found in a Leiger Book of Christ Church (Canterbury), that King Richard II., happening to be at Canterbury when he was to be buried, commanded his body (notwithstanding his own order) to be there interred, where he still lies at the feet of the Black Prince in a goodly tomb of alabaster yet remaining."¹

Thus Bishop Gibson, while repeating the statement, throws all responsibility for it on Somner himself and his MS. And what does Somner say? "I find in a Leiger Book of Christ Church (Canterbury) that the King (Richard II.), happening to be at Canterbury when he (the Archbishop) was to be buried, upon the Monks' suite it is like, overruled the matter, and commanded his body to be here interred."² This statement of Somner's was, it seems, to become henceforth the basis of all future accounts of Courtenay's burial,—though, as we shall see, some few writers questioned or ignored it,—until towards the close of the last Century two Antiquaries, Hasted and Dr. S. Denne, set themselves to examine it. The very vagueness of Somner's expression, "I find," and that too in the absence of all mention of the fact in

Additions have unfortunately been so intermingled with Camden's original text that it is very difficult to assign each portion to its own author, and hence has arisen the current opinion that Camden himself was in favour of the Canterbury claim.

¹ Gibson's Ed. of Camden's *Britannia* (1695), p. 217.

² Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), p. 266.

other documents or records where a proceeding somewhat singular and irregular would in all probability be noticed, led them to make a close investigation; with this result, that no such Leiger Book existed among the Chapter Archives at Canterbury, only a thin 4to volume in vellum, described in the Catalogue as "Extracts from the Obituary of the Monks of Christ Church," etc., by W. S.;¹ while on the cover was the endorsement, "*Dominus Thomas Cawston Mon. hujus Eccles. A.D. MCCCCLXXXVI.*"

Thus the very date robs the entry of any value. Had it been contemporaneous, or an authenticated transcript of a contemporaneous record, it would, as Dr. Denne says, have at once terminated the dispute; but appearing in a chance volume, confessedly written a century after the Archbishop's death, and utterly unsupported by any contemporary official record, the absence of which throws such doubt on its genuineness, it is worse than valueless; especially when taking into account the glowing description it gives of the scene, that it was "in the presence of the Illustrious King, many magnates, Prelates, Counts, and Barons."²

We have said it is utterly unsupported by any contemporary official record; and one official record of the highest value does exist, preserved in the Cathedral Library—the *Dies Obituales*,³ in which a full account of every State Funeral of the Archbishops was given; and yet in the case of Courtenay this is silent. Is it likely that his death, and many of his benefactions and legacies, in which the

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. x., p. 272.

² Such is the account given by Cawston: "*In presentia Ricardi Regis incliti Secundi, et multorum magnatum, prelatorum, comitum, et baronum.*"

³ The *Dies Obituales* are given at full length by Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, pp. 52-64.

Cathedral body came second only to his own relations in the amount of his bequests, should be duly noted, and yet not one word about so grand a function as his burial in the presence of so goodly a company, if it really was performed there, should have been deemed worthy of record? This is certainly only a negative argument; but it does not stand alone. The Archbishop's Will, with its Codicil attached, in which his wish and injunction to be buried in Maidstone is so explicitly given, is also preserved at Canterbury; yet not a note is added to the effect that the King's command overruled and overrode the Archbishop's dying wish, and that that wish was not carried out to the letter. Nor is there among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, or the Ecclesiastical or Municipal Records of Maidstone, any allusion to any such order having come from the King to rob them of the honour of retaining in their own Church the corpse of one who, while living in their midst, had been to them so great a benefactor.

Again, another negative argument may be advanced from the difficulty, amounting to the impossibility, of the supposed burial having taken place between the time assigned to it, the 5th August, and that of the Archbishop's death, 30th July. Taking into account the distance, not far short of thirty miles, and the rate of travelling five hundred years ago, how would it have been possible that the announcement of the death should have reached Canterbury, the King's order have been carried back to Maidstone, the preparation for the journey made, and the body conveyed at all, much less in befitting state, within those six days?

It is time to pass on to a consideration of what may be termed the internal evidence. First, take the words of the Epitaph which old Weever has preserved to us as having

run round the verge in his time. The opening lines run thus:

“Nomine Willelmus en Courtinaus reverendus,
Qui se post obitum legaverat hic tumulandum,
In presenti loco quem jam fundarat ab imo;
Omnibus et Sanctis titulo sacravit honoris;
Ultima lux Julii fit vitæ terminus illi,
M ter C quinto decies nonoque sub anno.”¹

Unfortunately this Epitaph, instead of removing all doubt on the subject, as it might have been expected to do, raises some of its own. Two expressions in it are appealed to as telling against this being the actual burial-place. Instead of opening with the usual “Hic jacet” (Here lies) the interjection “en” (lo) is introduced, an expression which is considered so vague as to leave it still an open question, even if it does not imply that this is not the real place of his burial. Then, in the second line, from the use of the word “legaverat” (he had willed), the inference has been drawn, that in spite of the distinct expression of his Will he was not buried here. Now let the force of these two objections be well weighed. Undoubtedly “Hic jacet” is the more usual mode, and does more emphatically assert a fact. But the use of “en,” or its equivalent “ecce,” is not so rare or infrequent as to raise any doubt. The pages of Weever himself² contain many instances of their use, and that in Canterbury itself; one or the other of them occurred on the tombs of Abbots Drulege, de Borne, Findon, and others, in the Monastery of St. Augustine; and surely no doubt existed as to those being the real places of their burial? But perhaps a still more uncontested and incon-

¹ The entire Epitaph is given in Appendix B (2).

² Weever's *Funerall Monuments*, pp. 257, 259, etc.

testable instance may be found in Rochester Cathedral, on the tomb of Bishop Warner.¹ So that that objection is easily removed.

As to the second, the use of the past-perfect tense, being suggestive of a doubt as to his having been buried in accordance with his Will, does the use of the same tense in the very next line, in allusion to his having founded the Church, raise any doubt that he was the real founder of it? May not the passage be thus rendered, "He had left instructions (*legaverat*) that he should be buried in this place because (*fundaverat*) he had founded it," and therefore he was buried here?

However, the value of this Epitaph as evidence is so doubtful and at best trifling, that much stress cannot be laid upon it either way. It gives the date of the Archbishop's death as 1395, when all records agree that he did not die till the following year. And as Beale Poste argues from this fact, and other vague expressions in it, that it could not have been written by a contemporary, nor till probably half a century or more after, the value of any testimony it might supply for either side is *nil*.²

Without burdening our pages with any references to the more recent authors who have followed the line adopted by Archbishop Parker down to Dr. Hook, it now only remains to bring forward in brief review the opinions of those who support the Maidstone claim. That sage Antiquary, Leland, writing in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, anterior even to Camden, says that "Courtenay founded a College at Maidstone, and there lies buried."³ About a century later

¹ Thorpe's *Antiquities of Rochester*, p. 702.

² Beale Poste's *History of All Saints' College*, p. 89.

³ Under the head of Maidstone, Leland's words are: "*Bonifacius de*

came John Weever,—to whose researches among inscriptions (of which, too, he left such valuable records) we are indebted for the one already quoted, as existing in his day (circ. 1630) on the tomb in the centre of the Choir,—who, after mentioning and disposing of the counter-claim of Canterbury, thus expresses his opinion: “He (Archbishop Courtenay) lyeth buried according to his Will, here in his own Church, under a plaine grave-stone (a lowly tomb for such an high-borne Prelate) upon which his portraiture is delineated,”¹ etc. Some fifty years later (1691) Henry Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, refers thus to the existence of the doubt: “Godwin writes that he (Courtenay) was buried at Canterbury, but that he was entombed at Maidstone is clearly more true, from the Codicil which still exists annexed to his Will among the Canterbury Archives. . . . And there, indeed, his tomb remains to be seen to this day.”² Then Le Neve, who published his *Monumenta Anglicana* in the beginning of the last century, has left a MS. note to the effect that “In the middle Isle (sic) lyes Archbishop Courtenay, who built the Church, under a flat tomb,” etc.,³ and that with the recorded opinions of Godwin, Somner, Gibson, and others before him.

So powerfully contested a point could not fail to enlist

Sudaudia Archiep. Cant. fundavit unum parrum Collegium sire Hospitale. Wilhelmus Courtenay Archiep. Cant. fundavit alterum, ibique sepultus jacet.” Collectanea, vol. i., p. 97.

¹ Weever's *Funerall Monuments*, p. 283.

² “*Cantuarie sepultum Godwinus scribit. Verius Maydenstonæ tumultum esse patet ex codicillo, qui Testamento suo annexus extat inter Archiva Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis. . . . At que isthic quidem Sepulchrum illius hodiernum visendum.*” *Anglia Sacra*, p. 121.

³ Le Neve's *Church Notes in Kent*, Additional MSS. in the British Museum, 5479, f. 151.

the interest and excite the research of Antiquarians in later years, and happily Maidstone had in the close of the last century as its Curate the Rev. John Denne, himself an Antiquary, and the brother of Dr. Samuel Denne, then Rector of Lambeth, and one of the leading Antiquaries of that day. It was determined therefore, if possible, to solve the doubt by opening the tomb. Permission was obtained, and the examination was made in the presence of the two brothers Denne, and others. The result may be given in Dr. Denne's own words: "At the depth of five feet six inches was discovered a skeleton, entire as far as the ground was opened. The skull, the collar bone, and the bones of the arms and legs were in their proper positions. Some of the rib bones had sunk on the vertebræ, and appeared through their whole length at their due distances. The ground under the skeleton had never been moved, and under the skull, in which the teeth were remarkably well set, and seemed to be complete, the ground was hard and round as a bowl.

"It is an obvious remark (he goes on to say) that this would have been the last body interred in the grave, nor can it be thought a strained conclusion that this must have been the skeleton of the person of whom the tombstone, which had unquestionably covered the spot for many centuries, was avowedly a memorial."

This investigation still left one or two points on which doubts were raised. There was the absence of a leaden coffin; to which it may be replied, that in those days even the highest in the land were not always buried in lead. Again, the absence of any Ecclesiastical vestments or insignia; to this it may be said that the Archbishop's Will disposes of mitre, and crozier, and a variety of copes and

other ornaments, till little would remain for use at his burial. Then again, the good preservation of the teeth has been advanced as an argument that the body found must have belonged to a younger man. But it should be remembered that Courtenay was only fifty-four at the time of his death, and is represented as having been generally a strong hale man.

All then being taken into account, may not the opinion of the exploring party be unhesitatingly adopted, "that the Archbishop was really here deposited, as the Inscription, aided by tradition, strongly implies, and that the tale of the body having been conveyed to Canterbury by the King's command was fabricated by the Monks of the Priory of Christ Church, for the purpose of supporting, as they conceived, the credit and dignity of that Cathedral"?¹

The second of the old Altar-Tombs to be noticed happily retains enough of its original character to tell its own tale.

It has been shown in the preceding Chapter,² that at the East end of this South Aisle of the Chancel there originally stood the Altar of St. Thomas the Martyr (Becket), and that the liberal endowment of it by Archbishop Arundel—by the grant of the revenues of Northfleet between it and one at Canterbury, providing for the maintenance of one priest at this Altar, as well as two at Canterbury—caused it to be thenceforth commonly known as the "Arundel Chapel." In this Chapel, "before the altar of St. Thomas," as he expresses the wish in his Will,³ John Wotton was buried in 1417; and

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. x., pp. 272, 273.

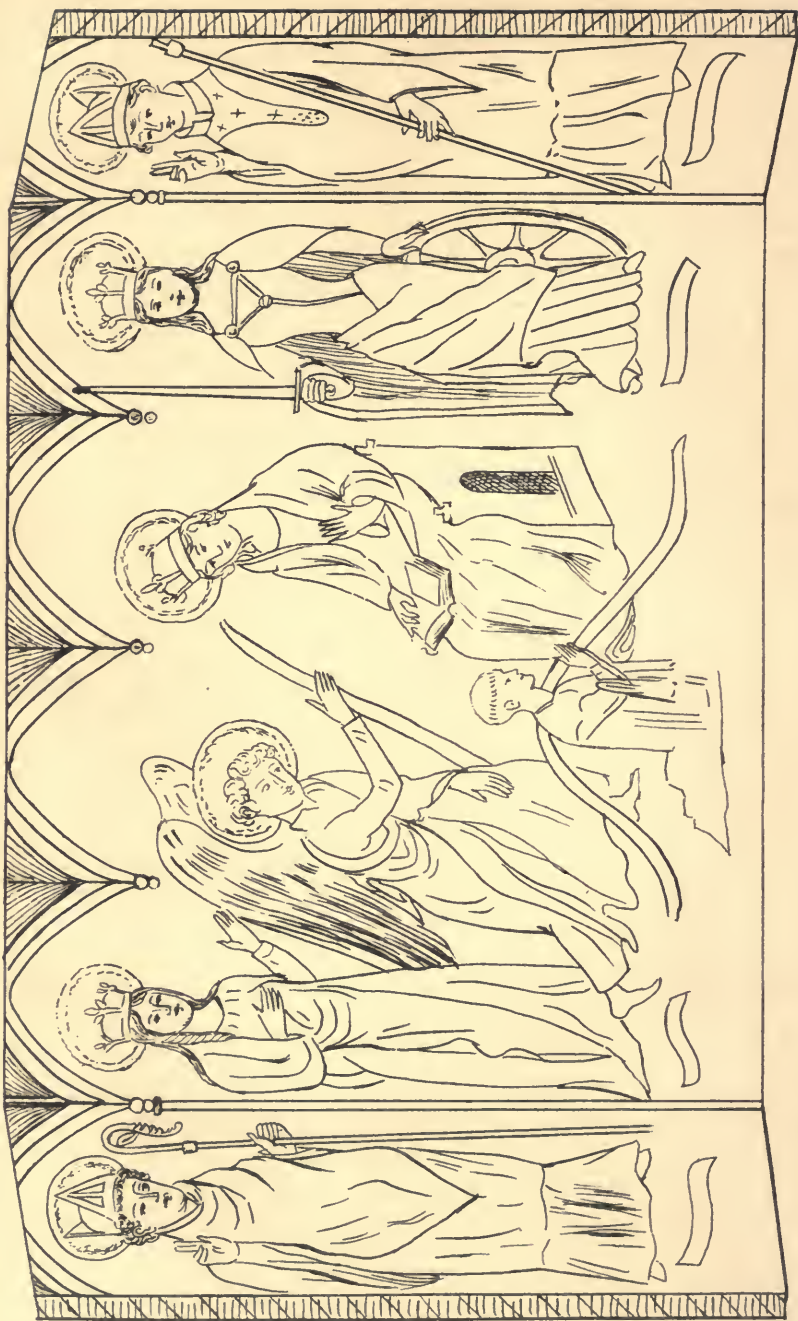
² Page 21.

³ Wotton's Will is preserved in Archbishop Chichele's Register, I., f. 327, in which he thus expresses his wish that his burial might be "*ad altare Sancti Thomæ Martyris in Ecclesia prefata ex parte australi consecratum et sumptibus meis honorifice constructum.*"

here the piety of his friends, or of his successor, raised this goodly monument, forming a partition between the Chancel proper and its South Aisle. It is a massive Altar-Tomb, with a boldly panelled face, in quarter-foils, and a slab of fine Bethersden marble for its lid, along the four sides of which formerly ran an inscription, long since destroyed, with only its indent remaining to show where it lay. Of this inscription, however, which Weever has rescued from oblivion, the wording proclaimed it to have been the tomb of John Wotton.¹ The whole is crowned by a richly carved canopy, on which traces of once bright colouring may still be seen; the space over the tomb itself is in four compartments, separated from each other by carved pendants, from which spring boldly cusped cinquefoiled arches, terminating in ogee pediments, crocketed and finialed, the centre of each containing an escutcheon. The first from the East, though now sadly disfigured and nearly obliterated, nothing but the outline of the cross being seen, clearly bore the arms of Christ Church, Canterbury—no doubt in allusion to the connection already alluded to between this Chantry and the one in the Cathedral, which shared with it the endowment of Northfleet; on the next, the arms of the See, impaling Arundel, and the third, the same, impaling Courtenay; while the fourth, now grievously disfigured by ignorant daubing, is supposed to have represented the College arms—*azure*, three bars gemelles *or*.

One other striking feature of this tomb must be noticed. On the wall rising up from the marble slab, and evidently a

¹ The Inscription ran thus: "*Hic jacet dominus Johannes Wotton, Rector Ecclesie Parochialis de Stapilhurst, Canonicus Cicestrensis & primus Magister hujus Collegii, qui obiit ultimo die Octobris 1417.*" Weever's *Funerall Monuments*, p. 286.



Fresco at the back of Wotton's Tomb, in All Saints' Church, Maidstone.

subsequent insertion, resting upon and cutting off part of the slab, to form the back of the subsequently added Sedilia, is a fresco painting, very much obliterated, especially about the faces of the several figures, which is supposed to represent the Virgin Mary seated on her throne, and St. Catherine standing behind, while an angel is presenting the soul of John Wotton (symbolized by a very diminutive figure, in a suppliant posture), pleading for exaltation to heavenly bliss;¹ with a fourth figure hopelessly defaced, and presenting no emblem or symbol by which it could be identified. In the return side-canopies are also figures of an Archbishop (Courtenay?) and a Bishop.

The third of the Altar-Tombs, which formerly adorned the Chancel, stood on the North side opposite to that of Wotton; but, like Courtenay's, it also has been brought down to the level of the floor, and only the indents remain to show where once lay effigy, escutcheon, and scroll. Weever says that even in his time this tomb was "shamefully defaced," nearly all the inscription destroyed, only a few words remaining at the ends of the line; which he read thus—

.	.	.	.	.	ad bona non tardus vocitando
.	.	.	.	.	namque Deo trino valefecit
.	.	.	.	.	Decembr
.	.	.	.	.	Anno Milleno C quatuor X

Local tradition (he adds) had always assigned it to one Woodville, "who dwelt at Thamote (the Mote?), within this Parish." Newton² infers from what remains of the date that it was to the memory of "*the father* of the Sir Richard (Wydewyll, Wydeville, Widvele, Wodevil, and Woodville, as

¹ Beale Poste's *History of the College*, p. 31.

² Newton's *History and Antiquities of Maidstone*, p. 77.

the name is variously spelt), who was the first Earl Rivers (whose daughter was King Edward IV.'s Queen), and who was beheaded by the Northampton Mutineers A.D. 1469."

In a very interesting Collection of MS. Notes on Churches made by the first Sir Edward Dering, of Surrenden, and known as the "Surrenden Notes,"¹ is an outline sketch of the brass on this tomb, as it appeared in his time (1630), from which we are able to give the following description. In each of the four corners was an escutcheon; at the top in the centre a representation of the Trinity, the Father seated, His right hand raised in the act of blessing, the left supporting a Crucifix, and a dove descending over the right shoulder. On one side, a little below, an angel kneeling, and on the other a man, also kneeling. The figures of Sir Richard and his lady must have been very boldly given; he appearing in full plate armour with his feet resting on a lion, she with a bird, probably a dove, with spread wings, at her feet. From the mouth of each proceeded a scroll containing a petition for "mercy," while both had their hands raised in prayer.

Newton's conjecture that it was the tomb of *the father* of the first Earl Rivers, and not, as some say, of that Earl himself, is confirmed by the date so imperfectly given; for though the actual date of his death is unknown, there being no entry of the fact at the College of Arms, this clue has been obtained from there, that the said Sir Richard was alive in 1440, but dead in 1442. Now the figures as given by Weever support this, for MCCCCX needs only L. or LI. or LII. to represent that date.

The last structural feature of this noble building which remains to be noticed is the range of *Sedilia*, that row of

¹ A copy of which is inserted in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. i., p. 178.



INK-PHOTO, SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

ALL SAINTS', MAIDSTONE.—THE SEDILIA.

gracefully canopied seats on the South side of the Chancel. These, as they now stand, are clearly of later date than Wotton's tomb, for they contain some fine traits of the best type of the Perpendicular style, which ruled during the latter years of the fifteenth century. From the general arrangement,¹ it is clear that the Tomb was originally open through and through; and that the Sedilia were an after-thought, for the convenience of which a backing wall was run up; for this wall rests on the slab of the Tomb, covering not only one side of the inscription that ran round it, but also one of the figured and canopied sides which formed the border of the brass itself. It is most probable that these Sedilia were constructed at the same time as the Vestry was thrown out on the South Aisle of the Chancel; and the paintings over the Tomb were no doubt then introduced to relieve the blankness of the wall on the South side.

The ordinary arrangement of Sedilia, which were designed for the use of the Clergy at the Altar Services, was a row of *three* seats, the Easternmost one, for the officiating Priest, being slightly higher than the other two, where his Assistants, probably a Deacon and Sub-Deacon, sat; sometimes only two seats are met with in smaller Churches, and occasionally only one. Here the arrangement is peculiar and rare;—four seats, and all on one level; the first being possibly for the Archbishop, and the other three for the Master and two Fellows, or Chaplains (*Capellani*).

The projecting canopy over them is divided into five compartments; that at the East enclosing the basins of a double Piscina, with what looks like the usual Credence-ledge above them, only that one-half the space has been blocked up, and the other half clumsily opened out at nearly

¹ Beale Poste's *History*, etc., p. 85.

right angles through the wall. The hand of some would-be beautifier or misguided "restorer" has successfully effaced all clue to the original arrangement or design. It is not improbable that there may have existed here a double *Ambry*, one belonging to the High Altar, and the other to that of St. Thomas (Arundel's Chapel), but all distinctive trace of either has wholly disappeared under a plain chamfered and fluted edge to the aperture on either side. A "Squint"—the common name for a *Hagioscope* or a *Lychnoscope*—it could not have been; had it been either the one, to enable a worshipper in the side Aisle to witness the elevation of the Host at the Mass, or the other, to enable the night-watching attendant to see if the lights were burning on the Altar without entering the Chancel—in either case it would have been placed obliquely, instead of being as it is nearly at right angles with the wall; and also more Westward, and in the present case would be rendered unnecessary by the open Altar-Tomb. It now seems meaningless, and as such may be left to others more expert to suggest a meaning or an object.

The Sedilia themselves present a far more intelligible and a highly interesting study. Each of these seats is deeply recessed under a stone canopy, the ceiling of which is groined and ribbed like the Tomb, with a central boss of boldly carved leaves, while at the intersecting points are smaller bosses delicately carved, representing leaves, flowers, and two or three grotesque human faces. On the front of each canopy are the remains of an escutcheon. The first three and the fifth (counting from the East end) probably had the same charges as those already described on Wotton's Tomb, in the following order—the Arms of Christ Church, Canterbury, then the See of Canterbury impaling Arundel, then

the same impaling Courtenay, and the last those of the College; the fourth escutcheon, now woefully disfigured by ignorant hands, is supposed by Beale Poste¹ to have borne the arms of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford and Essex, with those of Courtenay *per pale*. While so much remains to show how beautiful these canopies once were, it is saddening to notice how barbarously they have been mutilated in later years of the 16th Century to make room for some costly, and in themselves perhaps handsome, monuments, but painfully incongruous with those elaborate and elegant specimens of art of two hundred years earlier. Only in the recent Restoration of 1885-86 were the real beauties of these Sedilia brought to light, when the Astley monuments were removed, and relegated to a less obtrusive and more suitable place at the West end of the Church,—as the description of them must be to a future chapter.

The three central Sedilia are crowned with light open two-storied canopies, which, rising to an elevation of some twenty feet, add greatly to the beauty and symmetry of the whole group.

¹ *History of the College*, etc., p. 33.

CHAPTER III.

THE RECTORS OF ST. MARY'S.



FEW Churches in England, that can boast of five Centuries and a half of existence, have undergone less structural alteration, yet probably none have experienced more of change in other respects, than the old Mother Church of Maidstone—a change in its very name, from St. Mary's to All Saints'—in its character and constitution, from Parochial to Collegiate, and from Collegiate back again to Parochial—and consequently in the title and position of its Clergy, from Rectors to Masters or Wardens, from Masters to Curates, and eventually to Vicars.

They first appear as RECTORS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

In endeavouring to trace out the succession of these RECTORS, we are at the outset brought face to face with a difficulty. The absence of any Registers of the Diocese anterior to the time of Archbishop Peckham, at the latter end of the 13th Century, leaves us without authentic record; and only casually, and from out-of-the-way quarters, can occasional rays of light be obtained to help us in our search for the earlier appointments. Former writers of the history of the Church have experienced the same difficulty. Newton, for instance, only names two Rectors—

John Mansell, in the middle of the 13th Century, and Guy de Mone, the last of them, at the close of the 14th; while Hasted inserts only one more, William de Tyrington, the predecessor of de Mone. Beale Poste, with the greater facilities offered to him by Dr. Ducarel's invaluable Index to the Lambeth Registers, has supplied five more names in this interval. But even then we have nothing but the names and dates of the several appointments,—each little more than an empty name,—nothing to show how important a position the occupants of this valuable and coveted Rectory held in the Kingdom, and how through them Maidstone became identified with the Political and Ecclesiastical History of England. All this was passed over in silence—a silence it will now be our endeavour to break.

The first name that can be placed on the list is that of WILLIAM DE CORNHULL,¹ of whom Bishop Godwin, in his account of the Archbishops, merely notes that he was "collated by the King."² But the Charter of his appointment, still preserved in the "Public Record Office," gives in full and most interesting details an account of the whole transaction. It tells us that on the 6th of August, A.D. 1205, within a month of the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter, King John, while halting at his Palace of Havering-atte-Bower, did, in the midst of that band of evil advisers—as old Matthew Paris calls them, time-serving, unscrupulous minions, eager to pander to his passions to further their own interests³—avail himself of the vacancy in the See of Canterbury, to which the patronage rightly belonged, to

¹ Also spelt *Cornhill* and *Cornhelle*.

² "*Collatus per Regem.*" Bishop Godwin's *De Presulibus*, p. 315.

³ "*Qui Regi in omnibus placere cupientes, consilium non pro ratione sed*

appoint to the Rectory of Maidstone (how or how long vacant is not stated) this William de Cornhull. The few words of the Charter¹ present a graphic picture of the Court of that false and faithless libertine. Here was Geoffrey Fitz-Pier (*filius Petri*), whom on the day of his Consecration he had created Earl of Essex, as Justiciary the most exalted and perhaps the least unscrupulous of that godless band, whose presence at the Council-Chamber exercised some restraint at least, so that, as the old Chronicler tells us, when John heard of his death he "laughed violently," and exclaimed with his favourite oath, "Now for the first time I am King and Lord of England." Here, too, was Alberic de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and hereditary Lord Chamberlain; whose brother Robert, however, his successor in the Earldom, was one of the twenty-five Barons selected to secure the observance of Magna Charta; Hugo de Neville, too, who, as the King's Chief Forester (*Protoforestarius*), was doubtless one of his readiest agents in enforcing those oppressive forest-laws under which high and low alike were groaning; with John de Plessetis, who afterwards by marriage rose to the Earldom of Warwick.² Clergy, too, were here; among them John de Bramcestre, already Archdeacon of Worcester in 1200 and Vice-Chancellor, and soon to be Lord High Chancellor; with other aspirants to Royal favour. While the Charter itself was writ by Hugo de Wallis, who the year before had been made Archdeacon of Wells, and within

pro voluntate dederunt." Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Ed.), ii. 533.

¹ Charter Roll, 7 John. See Appendix C (1).

² Sir H. Nicholas' *Historic Peerage*, pp. 178, 369, etc.

two years was raised to the Bishopric of Lincoln, and the same year Lord High Chancellor also.¹

And what, it may be asked, constituted the merit, or the claim, of this William de Cornhull to this valuable and much coveted Rectory, into which he was appointed with such seeming haste? This may be easily accounted for. He clearly belonged to the family of "de Cornhull," several members of which had in the two preceding reigns been Sheriffs of Kent, an office at that time held by his brother Reginald,² whom Matthew Paris includes among the King's "evil advisers;" moreover, Hugo de Neville, already mentioned as one of the witnesses to the appointment, was his nephew, having married a daughter of that Henry de Cornhull whom his Sheriff-brother Reginald had deputed—no unwilling tool if the old Monkish Chronicler has not wronged him by describing him, in conjunction with Fulco de Cantelu, as being "very cruel and devoid of all feelings of humanity"³—to drive the Monks of Canterbury out of their Monastery, for having persistently claimed the right to elect their own Archbishop on the death of Hubert Walter. Thus had the family of Cornhull established a hold on the King's favour. This William, too, had already experienced Royal patronage; four years before he held preferment which he had received from the King,⁴ and had more recently been appointed to the Wardenship of Malmsbury Abbey.⁵ Nor was his promotion to cease with the

¹ Le Neve's *Fasti*, in locis.

² Called also "*Vice-Comes de Kantiæ*."

³ "*Milites cruellissimos et humanitatis ignaros.*" *Chronica Majora*, ii. 516.

⁴ *Rotuli Liberate*, etc. (Hardy), p. 69.

⁵ *Rotuli Patent* (Hunter), 7 John, m. 1.

Maidstone Rectory. The Archdeaconry of Huntingdon¹ in 1209, and six years after the Bishopric of Lichfield, were conferred upon him. This last appointment, however, came to him through the influence of Pandulph, the Papal Legate, rather than from the King. For while the Monks of Coventry and the Canons of Lichfield were fighting for the right to elect to the vacant Bishopric, Pandulph appears to have stepped in and settled the dispute by appointing de Cornhull (in 1215), as being possibly still a *persona grata* to the humbled and now more subservient King. And the Chapter of Lichfield would seem to have much cause to remember his Episcopate with gratitude; for he transferred to them the patronage of several benefices previously belonging to the See, and moreover gave up to the Canons the right to elect their own Dean.² He died in 1223, and was buried in Lichfield Cathedral.

An event of some interest, as showing that Maidstone even then occupied an important position in the country, is recorded by Matthew Paris. He says³ that "in the year 1209, in consequence of the execution of three Clergy at Oxford on the false charge of having murdered a poor woman, there was a general exodus of the Members of the University, and that all, Masters and Scholars alike, to the number of about three thousand, fled from Alma Mater, and one detachment found shelter at Maidstone." This would probably have occurred while William de Cornhull was Rector.

Philipott,⁴ in his account of the Town, says that "this

¹ Le Neve's *Fasti* (1716), pp. 123, 158.

² T. Chesterfeld, *Historia de Episcop. Coventr. et Lichfeld. Anglia Sacra* (1691), p. 437.

³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Ed.), ii. 525. *Historia*, etc., ii. 120.

⁴ Philipott's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 228.

William de Cornhull, or Cornhill, gave to Archbishop Stephen Langton, in the seventh year of King John's Reign, the Manor and Palace of Maidstone." But this must be incorrect; for according to Domesday the Manor of Maidstone must have belonged to the Archbishops at least one hundred and fifty years before John's time; and, moreover, Langton was not enthroned at Canterbury till the ninth year of that Reign. The land on which the Palace was afterwards built may have belonged to him, and have been given by Cornhull to the See in that Reign; or, what is more probable, the site where the College was subsequently erected, the Tower at the West being evidently of considerable antiquity, might have been Cornhull's gift to the Archbishop, but not the Manor.

Between the vacancy caused by the promotion of William de Cornhull to the See of Lichfield in the year 1215, and the appointment of JOHN MANSELL to the Rectory of Maidstone in 1241, occurs an interval which defies all efforts to fill up. We are constrained therefore to place his name on our list as the next known occupant of the Maidstone Rectory.

Happily we have not to rely for so doing on the chance allusion of the gossiping old John Weever,¹ who in a long list of Mansell's preferments calls him "Parson of Maidstone" (without giving any authority for the statement), and whom Newton and all subsequent writers have followed;² but we are enabled to trace out the details of the actual appointment³ and his remarkable career from the pages of one

¹ Weever's *Funerall Monuments*, p. 273.

² It is somewhat remarkable that Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, while he gives a long list of appointments and benefices held by Mansell, nowhere includes the Rectory of Maidstone among them (vol. i., p. 111).

³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Ed.), vol. iv., pp. 153-4.

who was his contemporary, Matthew Paris, the historian Monk of St. Albans.

Mansell was clearly a person of no little note—not to say notoriety—in his day. The son of “a village priest,”¹ he was early brought to the notice of Henry III., who, having discovered his general cleverness, and his special powers of diplomacy, attached him to his own person by making him one of the “King’s Chaplains.” Desiring to reward him still more, Henry obtained from the Pope the “*provisio*” of the Rectory of Thame, in the Diocese of Lincoln, and on its becoming vacant hurried off Mansell to take possession. But Thame was in the patronage as well as in the Diocese of the Bishop of Lincoln, and unfortunately for the King that See was then filled by Robert Grosseteste (or Grostete), the staunch, fearless Champion of the Church’s rights against all comers, be he King or Pope. He said he had already filled up the vacant benefice, and resolutely resisted the King’s nomination, threatening to fulminate his anathema against any one who should dare to infringe upon or any way injure his rights. He sent word to the King that he was quite ready to confer on “so learned and deserving a *protégé* of his Majesty” any other benefice of equal or even greater value when vacant, but would resist and defy any attempt at dictation or intrusion at Thame. Thus the battle royal raged.

Eventually, however, Mansell, with courtly tact and discretion, entreated to be allowed to withdraw all claim to the disputed benefice rather than be a cause of feud or scandal between two such illustrious personages, and would throw himself on the King’s liberality. Henry, knowing

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Ed.), vol. v., p. 129. His sister is called “*filia ruralis sacerdotis*.”

only too well the determined character of the Bishop,¹ was nothing loth to back out of the contest, and at once rewarded Mansell for his well-timed withdrawal of all claim to Thame by appointing him to the more valuable Rectory of Maidstone,² which had lapsed to the Crown on the withdrawal and death of Archbishop Edmund Rich in the preceding year. Thus it came about that John Mansell became Rector of Maidstone in the year 1241.

This was the first step in the ladder of his promotion, and was soon followed by a rapid succession of Ecclesiastical appointments. Two years after two Prebends at St. Paul's, then the Chancellorship in that Cathedral, a Stall also at Wells, another at Chichester, and the Provostship of Beverley, flowed in one upon another; for opportune vacancies in the Sees of London, Wells, and York³ placed all this patronage at the King's disposal, and Mansell was ever at the King's elbow. Matthew Paris calls him "*specialis Regis consiliarius*." Maidstone, meanwhile, must have been an occasional place of residence; for in 1252 he lay here at death's door, under suspicion of having been poisoned, and was unable to be present at the Enthronization of Archbishop Boniface.⁴

But the time was at hand when Royal favour was to place him in a position to help himself. The highest Civil appointments were to be added to his numberless Ecclesiastical preferments. In 1247 he was appointed Lord Keeper, and soon after Lord High Chancellor, in which capacity his Biographer, Lord Campbell, says, "He is computed to have

¹ "*Aliquando secus quam deceret impetuusus.*" M. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, iv. 154.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 154. "*Quapropter meruit idem Johannes uberiori beneficio, scilicet ecclesia de Maydnestan Rege largiente, protinus investiri,*" etc.

³ Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i., pp. 59, 111.

⁴ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v. 80.

held at once 700 (70 ?)¹ Ecclesiastical Livings, having (I suppose) presented himself to all that fell vacant and were in the gift of the Crown while he was Chancellor." This seems an incredible number; nor does Lord Campbell give any authority for such a statement. Matthew Paris uses the word "*septingentis*," which, if applied to his preferments, would bring them within the more possible, though still exorbitant, number of seventy; and even this would account for what he says of him—that he could spend 4,000 marks a year, and had refused several of the best Bishoprics in England because he held so many of the best Livings, and because he was "*lubricus*." Whether from that term the old Chronicler meant to reflect on his morality, or to suggest that he was "a slippery fellow," or only that he was fickle and fond of change, it is now impossible to say; he would certainly seem to have been "manysided," for report credits him with having distinguished himself on a very different field, as having made a French gentleman prisoner in the battle of Tailbourne, in 1242. The year 1261 would seem to have marked the zenith of his favour at Court. In addition to his direct preferments, he was in that year appointed Custodian of the vacant sees of York and Durham; while the Close Rolls of that year contain grants of venison for the yearly supply of his table from the Havering and Savernacke and Shirewood Forests.² Matthew Paris also

¹ Campbell's *Lord Chancellors*, i. 135; Matthew Paris (*Chronica Majora*, v. 355) says: "*Johannes Mansel, . . . arridente sibi fortuna in tantum ditatus est redditibus ut septingentis de novo sibi accumulatis ad quatuor millia marcarum totalis ejus annuus redditus æstimabatur; ita ut nostris temporibus non est visus clericus ad tantam opulentiam ascendisse.*"

² Close Rolls, 45 Henry III., m. 12, 15, 19, etc.

gives a characteristic instance of his sumptuous and ostentatious mode of life, when he entertained the Kings of England and Scotland and their Queens at a banquet at which 700 dishes were served at table.¹

Such favouritism and display could not fail to arouse the jealousy of the nobles, especially when they suspected him of playing them false with the King, who would not listen to their accusations against his favourite. When they carried their grievances and accusations against him to Rome, the King would not desert him, but wrote letters to the Pope and the Council of Cardinals² to vindicate the character of one whom he regarded as so useful and faithful a servant. But apparently with no avail; for this pampered favourite—this pluralist of pluralists, "*de grege porcus*," closed his meteor-like life in dishonourable exile and abject poverty on a foreign shore in 1268,³ presenting a melancholy illustration of the hollowness of Court favour and of the fruits of a selfish abuse of worldly power.

Whether John Mansell of sad memory retained the Rectory of Maidstone till his death, or was made to disgorge it with his other Church preferments on his disgrace, there is nothing to show; nor is there any explicit record of the appointment of his successor. Indeed, the name of his probable successor is only to be gleaned by inference; thus among the entries in Archbishop Peckham's Register,⁴ with

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v. 574.

Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 414. Close Rolls, 46 Henry III.

³ "A.D. 1268. *Obiit Johannes Mansel in partibus transmarinis in paupertate et dolore maximo.*" Roger de Hoveden, Cotton MSS., Otho D. 4, f. 154, printed in *Chronicles of Melrose*, Bannatyne Club, p. 214.

⁴ Archbishop Peckham's *Letters*, etc., vol. i., p. 95, and ii. 562, an invaluable addition to the "Rolls Series" by C. T. Martin, Esq.

which the Lambeth Series begins, is a letter addressed by Peckham to "Thomas, Chancellor of York" (no Sirname given), in which he explains that he had felt compelled to sequester the revenues of Maidstone because the said "Thomas" had so grossly abused his trust—had suffered the Ecclesiastical buildings to fall into utter ruin—had even despoiled the Church of its vessels and ornaments, and had moreover been guilty of extortion in the matter of revenues and dues. This letter, bearing date 1280, was clearly addressed to some one quite recently Rector of Maidstone.¹ Now Peckham's Register also records that the Archbishop had in the preceding year filled up a vacancy in the Rectory of Maidstone under peculiar circumstances (to be noted presently); while the Registers of York Minster record the appointment about that time to the Chancellorship of York of one THOMAS CORBRIDGE.²

May not then the coincidence of dates and of the Christian Name justify the inference that the delinquent Rector of Maidstone who suffered sequestration under the hand of that zealous reformer of Church abuses, Peckham, was the same "Thomas" whom Edward I., at that time at open war with the Primate, had seized the opportunity of a vacancy in the See of York to thrust into the Chancellor's Stall in the Northern Minster, and a few years after (A.D. 1299) into that Archbishopric itself?

On such evidence (inferential and conjectural it must be admitted) we venture to place for the first time on the list of the Rectors of Maidstone the name of THOMAS CORBRIDGE.

¹ Appendix C (2).

² Le Neve's *Fasti*, vol. iii., 163; and also Additional MSS. 5833, in British Museum; though Drake in his *Eboracum* gives the name of *Thomas Corbett*.

A word may be pleaded perhaps for what would now-a-days be regarded as the flagrant—almost impossible—delinquencies of Corbridge at Maidstone. His was evidently no singular case. Peckham's Register abounds with similar tales of Church neglect and spoliation under the lax and unscrupulous rule of recent Primates, conspicuous among whom had been the example of the last, Archbishop Kilwardby, who, on being appointed Cardinal of Portus, had carried off with him to Rome all the sacred vessels, and, most priceless of all, the entire series, up to that date, of the Registers of the See of Canterbury; which have never been recovered. Then, again, the one official controlling power in the person of the Archdeacon of Canterbury had just disappeared by the appointment of William Middleton to the Bishopric of Norwich in 1278.¹

Happily we are not left to inference or conjecture for the name of the Rector whom Archbishop Peckham appointed in succession to the deprived Thomas de Corbridge in 1279. His Register tells us it was RADULPHUS or RALPH DE FORNEHAM.² The terms too of this appointment, which are distinctly recorded, though apparently hitherto unnoticed, are too full of significance to be passed over in silence. They are History under a thin veil. The appointment was made by the Archbishop in "accordance with an Apostolic Mandate directed to him."³ In other words, at the Pope's dictation.

In the course of this History of the Rectors such constant allusion will be made to the influence, and indeed authority, exercised by the Popes in their appointments, that it may be well to give here in outline a brief sketch of the growth

¹ Battely's *Somner's History of Canterbury*, p. 153.

² Archbishop Peckham's Register.

³ "*Juxta tenorem Apostolici Mandati sibi directi.*"

of that power, and to mark the steps by which, during the 13th and early part of the 14th Centuries, the Papal Court was enabled to obtain so firm a grasp on the patronage of the Ecclesiastical Benefices in England.

The successive aggressions and usurpations may be thus traced. The first claim made by the Pope was that as Vicegerent of Heaven he had the right to appoint Kings—a claim not unfrequently exercised in Europe, and in this Country weakly conceded by John; then, that as the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, and therefore the earthly Head of the Church, with him lay the appointment of all Bishops; then followed the claim that, as the Patron of the Bishoprics, his was the right to nominate to all Benefices in the gift of those Bishops whom he had consecrated, and at length to all Benefices even in private patronage, as being part of the Patrimony of St. Peter. Such appointments were made under what were called “Mandates” of the Apostolic See.

Nor did even this satisfy the Papal greed. Under the pretext of an anxiety to guard against the possibility of any parish or office being left unprovided for in the event of a death, they claimed the right to anticipate such vacancy, and to “*provide*” for it directly it might occur. These anticipatory appointments thus came to be known as “*Provisions*” or “*Expectatives*.”¹ These “*Provisions*” were occasionally, but very sparingly, delegated by the Popes, as a mark of favour, to the Kings, and the Bishops, and a chosen few of the Nobles, as a sop in return for the vast patronage of which they had been deprived.

¹ This system of “*Provisions*” eventually became a crying grievance of the English Church, and was ultimately denounced and forbidden by Edward III. under the memorable Acts known as the “Statutes of Premunire and Provisors,” A.D. 1344.

Now such delegated claims, when put forth, were (as we shall see) frequently met by counter-claims, and resisted; out of which arose bitter disputes and grievous scandals. Our story will show how Maidstone now and again furnished an illustration of such a state of things; how her rich Rectory attracted rival claimants, and how King and Pope and Primate might be seen taking part in some unseemly struggle for securing its coveted revenues for their respective *protégés*.

William de Cornhull's, and also John Mansell's, had been distinctly "Crown appointments;" this of Ralph de Forneham was no less distinctly a "Papal" one, under a claim of the Pope already alluded to. Peckham, a Franciscan, and habitually, if not ostentatiously, styling himself "F., *i.e.*, *Frater Johannes*" (Friar John), was so wholly a nominee of his brother Friar, Pope Nicholas III., that his patron's Mandate came to him with an authority he could not question; so within a few weeks of his own Consecration and reception of the Pall he bestowed his earliest piece of good preferment at the Pope's bidding, and thus, with all his own independence of character, helped to bring the English Church for a time into more abject vassalage to the Court of Rome.

On the death of Ralph de Forneham in 1287, it would seem that Archbishop Peckham had a freer hand in the dispensing of his patronage, his old patron Pope Nicholas III. having long since died, and the chair of St. Peter having been filled by less ambitious and grasping spirits. For he selects for this coveted Rectory one of his own Chaplains, NICHOLAS DE KNOVYLL, or KNOVILLE, one whose name constantly occurs as witness to important documents and letters, and who is expressly mentioned as having on one

occasion been the chosen bearer of a "Letter of Condolence" from the Primate to Queen Eleanor.¹ He had evidently been Rector of Faversham before coming to Maidstone, for the Registers record appointments made by him in 1282 and 1283 to the Vicarages of Bocton (Boughton-under-Blean) and Hernhull (Hernhill), benefices then in the patronage of the Rectory of Faversham. He too no doubt, like William de Cornhull, belonged to an old County Family; for the name of Knoville repeatedly occurs in the list of the Magnates summoned to Parliament in the reign of Edward I.²

Nicholas de Knoville died in 1310; meanwhile Archbishop Robert de Winchelsea had succeeded Peckham in the Primacy, and the weak Edward II. was sitting on the throne of England. On de Knoville's death the Archbishop collated to the Rectory of Maidstone his trusty Chaplain and friend, STEPHEN DE HASELINGFELD.³ But at once there appeared a rival claimant to the right of nominating in the person of the King himself. Edward asserted that the Pope, Clement V., had conferred on "his very dear consort," Isabella the Fair—as she was then called, though better known in later history as "the She-Wolf of France"—the *provisio*, or next presentation, to this valuable benefice of "any person she might deem fit and deserving," and that she greatly desired it for a beloved kinsman of her own, one Guido de-la-Valle.⁴

¹ Archbishop Peckham's Registers, ff. 24, 26, 30, etc.

² See Dugdale's *Summons of Nobility, etc., to Parliament*.

³ Archbishop Winchelsea's Register, f. 47, b.

⁴ This was not the first time that the Queen advanced such a claim. Three years before she had demanded one of the Prebends in Rouen Cathedral for her Physician, John de Fountayne, on the same ground of a *provisio* from the Pope; but the Archbishop of Rouen, having also obtained a similar *provisio*, had anticipated the Queen's claim by filling up the vacancy. See Royal Letters, 1807 (Pub. Record Office).

The Archbishop, however, resisted the claim ; and Stephen de Haselingfeld, being in canonical possession, refused to vacate in favour of the Royal relative. The King appealed to the Pope to vindicate his claim ; "the Apostolic Rescript," he said, "was being treated with contempt, and a grievous wrong was being done to his dearest wife's kinsman." But the appeal was apparently of little avail ; for two years after he renews it with increased urgency, but with no better effect.¹ Haselingfeld seems to have remained in undisturbed, if not in undisputed, possession till either his death or his removal to some other benefice, when the coveted honour of the Maidstone Rectory must have fallen to the expectant GUIDO DE-LA-VALLE ; for in a subsequent letter to the Pope, John XXI., who had succeeded Clement V., the King begs the next appointment to the Bishopric of Dol, in Normandy, likely to become soon vacant, for the said Guido de-la-Valle, whom he styles "Canon of Agiens, and Rector of Maydstane."² Further proof also is forthcoming of de-la-Valle's connection with Maidstone ; for when Queen Isabella crossed over to France in the hope of gaining her brother's help in raising an army against her husband, one of Edward's first acts³ was to confiscate the property of all "aliens," whether lay or cleric, "being subjects of the King of France, with whom he was then at war," and he required the Archbishop of York, the See of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Robert Winchelsea, to forbid, among others, the Proctors of de-la-Valle to transmit to him any money they might be holding on his account as revenues of the Church of Maidstone. Whereupon Archbishop Reynolds, on being

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii. 130, 131, 217. Appendix C (2).

² *Ibid.*, ii. 429.

³ Archbishop Reynold's Register, f. 312, b.

appointed to Canterbury, at once issued a Commission¹ to Thomas de Keresbrok, Rector of Lanfare, to take over jurisdiction of the Church of Maidstone, which he describes as "having been long vacant," and to receive and retain in his name, and to give account to him of, all the revenues belonging to that Rectory. By some writers the name of Keresbrok has been included in the lists of *Rectors*; but in the Commission issued to him by Archbishop Reynolds there is nothing to show that he was to do more than to exercise general jurisdiction, to collect the revenues, and to be responsible for them to the Archbishop during the vacancy.²

The name of this Guido de-la-Valle seems to mark the first appearance here of that influence which had been gradually permeating the English Church from the time when the Savoyard Boniface, uncle of Queen Eleanor of Castile, was placed in the chair in which the typical Englishman Thomas à Becket had sat seventy years before. Hitherto the Rectors of Maidstone, as their names indicated, had belonged to English or Anglo-Norman families, such as Cornhull, Mansell, Corbridge; while the last of them, Haselingfeld, bespoke a still earlier Anglo-Saxon origin. But now for above half a century the foreign element predominated, and Maidstone felt the ripple of the tide which was rolling more or less over all England, filling all ranks and orders of the Church with "aliens." It formed a new era in the history of the Papacy. No longer content with grasping all the best appointments and the richest benefices for its own nominees, it now sought to appropriate the revenues of the English Church for the support, not of

¹ Appendix C (3).

² Archbishop Reynold's Register, f. 262, b.

resident "aliens," but of avowedly *non-resident*, comparatively pauper, hangers-on at Avignon. For the Papal Court had fled from Rome, and found shelter there, maintaining a dependent servile existence under the protection, and of course under the control, of France.

A more glaring illustration of this evil could hardly be found than in the case of the successor of de-la-Valle in the Rectory of Maidstone, ANIBALDUS DE CECCANO, another name that as yet has had no place in this list.

The connection of this Italian Prelate with Maidstone is expressly stated in the Register of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the account there given of an unseemly scene, in which his Proctor, Jacobus de Bolonia figured, under the following circumstances. There attached to the Prior and Convent at Canterbury, as already mentioned,¹ the right of holding Visitations in the Diocese during the vacancy of the See, and on the occasion already alluded to of the Prior's Officials being resisted and insulted, this Jacobus de Bolonia was responsible for the defiant opposition.² As, however, it was pleaded that he had acted without the authority and against the wishes of his Rector, Cardinal Anibaldus, and had most humbly and devoutly begged pardon, he was forgiven, and the following year was confirmed by the newly appointed Archbishop Simon Islip in the Proctorship, to receive the revenues of the Rectory for the Archbishop in consequence of "the death of Anibaldus, late Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and Rector of the Parish of Maidstone, now deceased."³ The history of this man is an apt illustration of the phase, already alluded to, through which the

¹ Page 5.

² Christ Church, Canterbury, Register G., f. 74.

³ Archbishop Islip's Register, f. 29, a.

English Church was then passing. He had been created Bishop of Tusculanum and Cardinal Archbishop of Naples in 1327,¹ and in 1342 was selected by the Pope to act as intermediary between Philip of Valois and Edward III.,² when he succeeded in bringing about a truce, though a very short-lived one, between England and France. He was thus brought into contact with the English King, and as a reward for his services had the revenues of several English benefices—Maidstone among them—conferred upon him, the proceeds being collected for him by his recognized Proctors (of whom his countryman Jacobus de Bolonia was one), and regularly forwarded to him, to supplement a no doubt precarious, and at best meagre, income from his high-sounding Italian dignities. Avignon was clearly his home, and here he died, as was currently believed by poison, in 1350,³ having drawn for many years the revenues of Maidstone and several other benefices,⁴ without having set foot in any of them.

The next step in the aggressive course pursued so persistently by the Court of Rome was even in advance of any we have yet traced; and is revealed in connection with the successor of Anibaldus. It was not enough that he, and many others such as he, should fatten on the wealth of English benefices the spiritual duties of which they ignored—until, as was said by a contemporary writer, “aliens who had never seen, or never would see, their parishes, held and farmed out the richest preferments in England”—but every living of any value in the country was to be charged with various payments, such as Collations, Reservations, First-

¹ Migne's *Dict. des Cardinaux*, p. 645.

² *Baronii Annales*, xxv. 293.

³ *Ibid.*, xxv. 514.

⁴ Alien Priories (Pub. Record Office), Q. R. Miscel., 19 Ed. III. and 20 & 24 Ed. III., 632.

fruits (the entire income of the first year), and Tenths of any Tithes in subsequent years, all to be transferred into the Papal coffers; and to ensure the regularity of such payments, Papal representatives were to be scattered broadcast over the land, under the titles of Legates, and Nuncios, combining, the latter especially, with the more subtle functions of diplomacy and espionage the practical duties of taking care of the pecuniary interests of the "Holy Father." Thus was the wealth of the English Church—the offerings of pious Englishmen for the promotion of religion in the land—being diverted from its holy course to support an "alien" non-resident priesthood, and a rapacious foreign Court, until the taxes raised by the Pope in England "were five times as much as those levied by the King." This was more than England's third Edward could submit to. Under the feeble reign of his father this system of Papal exaction had developed with appalling rapidity. The King's weakness had been the Pope's opportunity. But Edward III. inherited far more of the independent, self-reliant spirit of his mother Isabella than that of his pliant, vacillating father; and the occasion soon arose—and that in connection with the Rectory of Maidstone—to put his firmness and resolution of character to the test.

HUGO DE PELEGRINI was Rector of Maidstone in 1350. He occupied a most exalted position under the Papacy. Not merely was he a Proctor, or even a Legate; he was "Special Nuncio of the Supreme Pontiff." Yet to him did the King¹ in 1363 address a searching remonstrance against his systematic course of illegality: he charged him with exacting First-fruits, etc., from benefices which had been exempted from such payments, and enjoins him to make

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii. 250. Appendix C (4).

restitution in every such case, and to desist from these "new and unprecedented demands under pain of Royal displeasure, and threat of legal procedure." It would seem, however, that Pelegrini had a friend in Archbishop Langham; for in the early days of his Primacy he issued a Commission¹ to Pelegrini, conferring on him special jurisdiction even beyond the bounds of his own parish. But at the close of the short Primacy of Whittlesey (who succeeded Langham), the King, assuming the See to be vacant, dismissed the obnoxious Nuncio from the Maidstone Rectory, and nominated a Chaplain of his own, ROBERT SIBTHORP. Yet in the following year (1377) he revoked this appointment,² and issued a "Brief" to Archbishop Sudbury, whom he had just raised to the Primacy, calling on him to declare Maidstone vacant (*per defaultam*) by default on the part of Pelegrini, and to cite him personally before him, and to proceed at once to the collation of his successor at Maidstone; which he accordingly did by appointing the King's own nominee, Robert Sibthorp.

Nor was Maidstone the only preferment from which Pelegrini was expelled.³ He had held a Prebendal Stall at Lincoln, and also the Treasurership at Lichfield,⁴ of both of which the King had already deprived him, as though loathing and dreading his very presence in the country.

With him disappeared the "alien" element in the Maidstone Rectory.

Of the early history or antecedents of this joint nominee

¹ Archbishop Langham's Register, f. 52, a.

² Archbishop Sudbury's Register, ff. 117, 118.

³ A note in the Christ Church (Canterbury) Registers, M. 371, says Pelegrini's yearly income from Maidstone alone was "*octies viginti marce*" (160 marks), or £107—nearly £2,000 of present currency.

⁴ Le Neve's *Fasti*, i. 582, ii. 210.

of King and Primate, ROBERT SIBTHORP, or as his name is spelt in his Will, "Sybbethorp," nothing appears on record save that he was a "King's Chaplain," and had been appointed in 1368 to the living of Hadham Magna, in Herts, by Edward III., which he resigned in 1372, and in the following year was presented to that of Roddington, in Notts, also a Crown Living.¹ But his appointment to the Rectory of Maidstone in 1377 is noteworthy for more reasons than one. Not only did it mark a change from a non-resident foreigner to a resident Englishman in the Maidstone Rectory, but a change also (as there must have been) in the teaching of the Maidstone pulpit, judging from the language of his Will,² made in 1390, which opens, not with the usual formula, "In the name of God," or "of the Holy and Undivided Trinity," but "In the name of Jesus;" while he goes on to commend his soul, not as was customary at that time "to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary," but "to my Lord Jesus." Thus early, it would seem, had the teaching of the great reformer John Wickliffe penetrated to Maidstone. It was, however, but a passing gleam of that purer light which was not to shine upon the land for yet a century and a half. That a man inclining, however slightly, to these "New Doctrines" should have been in favour with Edward III. was perhaps the less remarkable considering that only two years before the King had appointed Wickliffe himself to the Rectory of Lutterworth, under the influence of John of Gaunt.

On the death of Robert Sibthorp in 1390, another "King's Chaplain," in the person of WILLIAM TYRINGTON, was appointed to this Rectory, showing that it was then looked

¹ Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 831.

² Archbishop Courtenay's Register, f. 233, a.

on as one of the prizes of the Church. In 1361 he had been appointed by Edward III. to the Benefice of Shipdam in the Diocese of Ely, the same year to a Prebend at St. Paul's, and very soon after to one at St. David's, and also to the Rectory of Bernak (now Barnack) in the Lincoln Diocese, in each case the nomination having lapsed to the Crown *vacante sede*.¹ Rymer describes him as a "Public Notary," and represents that in that capacity he was frequently called upon to witness the King's signature to important Royal contracts.² After holding the Rectory of Maidstone for a short time only, he would seem to have exchanged it with Guido de Mone for the Prebend of Stowe Longa in Lincoln Cathedral.

GUIDO or GUY DE MONE was the last of the Rectors of St. Mary's Parish Church. His first appointment on record was to a Prebend (Stowe Longa) in Lincoln Cathedral in 1370. He next appears as Rector of Bradwell in the County of Essex; in 1387 Courtenay, then Bishop of London, gave him the Rectory of Harrow-on-the-Hill; and in 1390, having meanwhile been raised to the Primacy, brought him to the Maidstone Rectory, by exchange of the Prebend of Stowe Longa with William Tyrlington.³ This arrangement clearly indicates the Archbishop's ulterior design with respect to this Rectory, to convert it into a College. The Papal Licence⁴ (echoing, doubtless, Courtenay's Petition) contains a significant clause that "the change was to be made on the

¹ Pat. Roll, 35 Edward III., p. 3, m. 1.

² Rymer (*Fœdera*, vol. iii., Part I., p. 89) styles him, "*Lincolniensis Diocesis Clericus Publicus Auctoritate Apostolica Notarius*." *Ibid.*, vol. iii., Part II., pp. 62, 136, 179, 191, etc.

³ B. Willis's *Cathedrals*, ii. 243.

⁴ The part of the Pope's Licence above referred to is as follows:

death or resignation or removal of the then Rector." On this understanding it would seem Guy de Mone accepted the Rectory, and resigned it in 1395, thus giving the Archbishop the opportunity of appointing the first Master of his new College in his own lifetime, and that in the person of their mutual friend, Dr. John Wotton, at that time Rector of Staplehurst.

The Registers of the Chapter at Canterbury disclose a somewhat remarkable arrangement entered into between the College on the one hand and the Prior and Convent on the other—that one of the first acts performed by the newly formed College, in 1395, was to hand over a sum of money to the Prior and Convent for the payment of an annuity of 200 marks to de Mone for his life, out of the income derived from two of the Convent manors of Cliffe at Hoo and Holingbourne.¹

His resignation of the Maidstone Rectory had been already preceded the year before by his appointment to the Treasurership of St. Paul's,² and was followed the year after by his promotion to the Bishopric of St. David's. He then rose to be one of the Privy Council, and in 1398 Lord High Treasurer of England. So highly was he esteemed by his Patron Archbishop—for he had held, before his appointment to the Maidstone Rectory, an important confidential situation in the Archbishop's household as *Seneschallus terrarum*—that he appointed him also one of his Executors. He died in 1407.

"*Cedente vel decedente filio Rectore ejusdem ecclesie qui nunc est, vel alias ecclesiam ipsam quomodolibet dimittente, etc.*" Canterbury Register S., f. 25. Appendix C (5).

¹ Canterbury Register S., ff. 27-29

² Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 105.

Grave doubts have been raised as to the Manx origin which Fuller,¹ adopting the name of "de Mona," would thus assign to him. Only twice is the name so spelt—in the Commission issued for his burial (in Archbishop Arundel's Register, f. 13), and in Le Neve's list of the Bishops of St. David's. In every other document—in his appointment to the Maidstone Rectory, in the record of his gift of Kemsing to the Bermondsey Abbey, in his "Professio" on appointment to St. David's, and again in his Will—it appears as "de Mone;" so, too, Newcourt spells it in the several appointments he held in the Diocese of London. The first important deviation from this generally accepted form occurs in Bishop Stubb's "Registrum," where, both in the entry of the consecration in 1397, and again in his list of the Bishops of St. David's, he spells it *Mohun*; and Newcourt, too, says that on his consecration he adopted this form. Hence arises the question whether *Mone* was not the phonetic mode of spelling *Mohun*, pronounced as a monosyllable; and then whether, instead of being, as Fuller would almost imply, an unknown stranger from the Isle of Man, he was not really an offshoot from the old Mohun stem so long settled at Dunster Castle, in Somersetshire. If the arms of the Miserere stall in Maidstone Church, already described,² rightly represent the ancestral coat of the last Rector, Heraldry certainly offers no support to such a theory. But then the authority for those arms is perhaps none of the strongest. Bedford, in his "Blazonry of Episcopacy," only relies on a seal (*ex sigillo*) and the authority of a MS. in the Bodleian Library. Such a connection would certainly go far to account for Archbishop Courtenay's patronage and

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, etc., ii. 571.

² Page 31.

his affection for the said Guido, if he came of a good Somersetshire family so nearly located as Dunster Castle is to Powderham, the noble seat of that branch of the Courtenays; and also for his subsequent advancement.

An argument of some weight may also be advanced from the early history of the Mohuns of Dunster Castle. They claim descent from an old Norman family named *Moion*,¹ one of whom came to England with the Conqueror, and received the Dunster estate as his reward.² The family was of sufficient note to be represented in successive Parliaments in the reign of Edward III., the first member summoned being called John de Moun,³ and he was also one of the original Knights of the Garter; while William de Mohun, who claimed to be Earl of Dorset, in the foundation Charter of Bruton, signs himself Will'us de *Moyne*.⁴ The very variation of name under which this family was known suggests the possibility of *de Mone* being only another variety of the same name, the ennobled form being assumed when the Clerical "cadet" of the family rose to such eminence.

This, too, would connect him with the Lady Mohun whose gorgeous monument has so honourable a place in Canterbury Cathedral. For she was the widow of the last Lord de Mohun, who appointed Archbishop Courtenay one of the trustees under his Will. From her, too, the reversion of Dunster Castle passed to Lady Luttrell, the widow of Sir Andrew Luttrell, who was daughter of Hugh Courtenay, and the Archbishop's sister. Such a descent and connection would

¹ Leland's *Collectanea*, i. 202.

² Collinson's *Somersetshire*, ii. 8, etc.

³ Dugdale's *Summonses to Parliament* (4 Edward III.), p. 154. Close Roll, 4 Edward III., m. 41.

⁴ Sir H. Nicholas' *Historic Peerage*, pp. 163, 437.

certainly account better for Guido de Mone's career than the imputed origin of a Manx adventurer.

His Will contains a very touching proof of the regard he retained to the end of his life for Maidstone. The only legacy, outside his own family and household, was his "large Breviary (*Portiforium*) and large Missal, which he had had lately written by his Clerk, Wennocus Chamburlyne;" these he bequeathed "to the Collegiate Church at Maidestan, that they might remain there for ever."¹ He was buried, in accordance with his expressed wish, "in the north part of the Chancel of the Conventual Church of Ledys (Leeds) in Kent." That Breviary and Missal, however—a connecting link between the old College and still older Rectory—are, it is feared, hopelessly lost; the tomb, too, and the Church itself—that "goodly Church, parallel to many Cathedrals," as Philipott describes it²—with the entire range of Conventual buildings, have been so utterly demolished that not a vestige remains to mark even their site—"the place thereof knows them no more"—while the historic Castle stands out still in its renovated glory.

¹ The clause runs thus: "*Item lego. Ecclesie Collegiate de Maydenstone magnum portiforium et magnum Missale, que nuper per Wennocum Chamberlayn Clericum meum scribi feci, ita quod iidem libri ibidem remaneant pro perpetuo.*" Arundel's Register, i., f. 246.

² *Villare Cantianum*, p. 214.

CHAPTER IV.

ARCHBISHOP BONIFACE'S HOSPITAL.



HAVING brought to a close the History of the Rectory of St. Mary's, before entering on that of the College, into which it was merged, it will be well to take a brief review of the older foundation of Archbishop Boniface, the endowments of which were thenceforth to be amalgamated with those of the College, and to furnish the additional funds for its largely increased staff.

About the year 1261 Archbishop Boniface founded a "*Hospitale*," as it was called, a resting-house for the relief of travellers and pilgrims on their way from the South-west coast to the Shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This he built on the West bank of the river a little below the bridge, and dedicated to SS. Peter, Paul, and Thomas (à Becket). It became known as "the Newark," a corruption of the term "New-Work" (*novi operis*), by which it was at first commonly described. It was to consist of a Warden (or Master), and a few "Corrodians," or Prebendaries, for whose use he erected a range of buildings, with a convenient Chapel, the only vestige of which now remaining, beyond an occasional fragment of some old wall now and again brought to light in

the repair or reconstruction of the neighbouring houses, is to be seen, and that in a goodly state of preservation, in the beautiful Chancel of St. Peter's Church; its East and side lancet windows presenting, with their chaste and elegant Purbeck marble shafts, an exquisite specimen of the Early English Architecture of the middle of the 13th Century, not unworthy to bear comparison even with the contemporary windows of the Temple Church in London, or with the Chapel in Lambeth Palace, which was also the work of Boniface.

One may be allowed to dwell for a moment on this almost unique act of piety, so far as contemporary history enlightens us, of one whose name is rather associated with acts of tyranny and extortion. Boniface—"the Savoyard," as he was contemptuously called, to emphasize his alien birth and character—owed his elevation to the Primacy solely to the fact of his being the Uncle of Eleanor of Provence, the Queen of Henry III. His qualifications for such a post may be judged of by the description given of him by a writer of the time—that "he was destitute of learning, and altogether ignorant of the language and customs of his flock." This single act of benevolence therefore—the Hospital at Maidstone—deserves special mention. His more costly building at Lambeth had been a compulsory work, under an injunction from the Pope, as some atonement for his imperious and sacrilegious treatment of the Monks of St. Bartholomew's at Smithfield. That is an oft-told and well-known tale; but there was another incident in the earlier days of his Primacy, graphically recorded also by Matthew Paris, but not so generally known, which may account somewhat for the form, and the place too, of this foundation, by which he perhaps hoped to expiate a local wrong, and one that had indirectly threatened serious consequences to Maidstone.

It appears that within a few months after he had attained the Primacy a vacancy had occurred in the Mastership of a Hospital in Southwark, which was in the Diocese and patronage of the Bishop of Winchester, and had been at once filled up by William de Raleigh, the Bishop-elect of that See. On hearing of this the Archbishop's Official, Eustachius de Len (Lynn?), interfered, on the ground that the Archbishop's consent was necessary, and called on the new Master (or Prior, as he was sometimes called) to withdraw his claim till it had been canonically sanctioned, asserting that he had been irregularly and presumptuously intruded. This the Prior, doubtless regarding possession as nine points of the law, persistently refused to do, whereupon the Official excommunicated him, and ordered him to be taken away to the Archbishop's Manor Prison at Maidstone. The Bishop-elect of Winchester now, thinking his rights had been infringed upon and his authority insulted, sent off a body of armed dependants to rescue and liberate the Prior, and if necessary to carry fire and sword into the Archbishop's Palace. On arriving at Maidstone they found the poor Prior had been carried off *vi et armis* to Lambeth. Thither they followed him, and with a rush seized the Official, and subjected him to much ignominious treatment, and retained him as a hostage till the Prior should be restored to liberty. At length the feud was settled by the intervention of Henry of Gaunt, and the Primate and his Suffragan of Winchester were temporarily reconciled, and Maidstone escaped any serious damage.¹

It has been suggested that to this encounter Maidstone may have owed the patronage which in his remorse the Archbishop conceived for the town, for the Hospital was not

¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Ed.), v. 344-6.

the only mark of favour he conferred upon it. To him it was indebted for the first Grant of a Market to be held, on the piece of ground then called Petrisfeld¹ (known as the "Fair Meadow"), and most probably also for its Bridge, connecting, as it would, his Hospital with the town and the market, the erection of which local tradition has always assigned to one of the early Archbishops.

The actual Charter under which this Hospital was built cannot now be traced; but the Confirmation of it by the Prior and Canons of Canterbury is still preserved among the Chapter Records, and strikingly illustrates² the co-ordinate tenure under which the Monastic property of the Cathedral was originally held. Under the Saxon Constitution the Archbishop was himself regarded as the Prior, and all the property was held conjointly by him and the Convent. But when the Norman Lanfranc was appointed to the Primacy, he effected the change which his previous experience in the Abbey of Bec suggested. He arranged a division of the general property; one portion of the patronage and the revenues being assigned to the See, and the remainder to the Chapter; each holding and dispensing his own share independently of the other. The original system, however, was still retained in theory so far that neither party could actually relinquish any portion of the once joint property without the consent of the other. Thus in the case of the endowment of this Hospital, the Archbishop could not make a legal and valid assignment of the revenues of the several benefices for its income without the confirmatory consent of the Chapter. This assent was given in September 1261 by Prior Roger de St. Elphege (or de Sancto Elphego), who has left behind him worthy memorials of his rule in the

¹ Charter Rolls, 45 Henry III., m. 2. ² Appendix D (1).

beautiful windows of what is now called "The Dean's Chapel" in Canterbury Cathedral.¹ It embraced, too, not only the revenues of Farleigh and Sutton (near Northbourne), which belonged really to the Archbishop's share, but also the land called Petrishull, and other property which the Archbishop had bought with his own money.²

Of the successive Wardens of this Hospital, who it must be borne in mind are quite distinct from the Masters of the College of All Saints, with which they are sometimes confounded,³ the Lambeth and Canterbury Registers supply an almost complete list. In the former the first name given is that of William de Sele, appointed by Archbishop Peckham in 1282; and Peckham's Register, the earliest now extant at Lambeth, only dates back three years before. Hasted, however, places ROBERT DE BRADEGARE as the first Warden, giving "Cart. 1589" as his authority; but this reference is so vague that it is impossible to verify it. However, it may not be summarily rejected; for the interval of twenty years between the foundation of the Hospital and the appointment of William de Sele would leave ample room for at least one Warden prior to 1282. And in the same Register the name of Robert de Bradegare does occur as being Rector of Bydingdenne (Bedenden) in that year, and as being a very infirm old man, while his death is mentioned

¹ Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 283.

² "*Omnes terras, possessiones, et redditus, cum eorum pertinentiis quos predictus Dominus Cantuar, emerit de pecunia sua, etc.*" Christ Church (Canterbury) Register, I., f. 255.

³ To mark the distinction, and avoid the confusion which may arise from the alternative use of *Custodes* and *Magistri* in the original records of the appointments to Hospital and College alike, the term "Warden" shall be used in reference to the one and "Master" to the other.

two years after. It is quite possible, therefore, that Archbishop Peckham, finding him incapable from growing infirmities to perform the onerous duties devolving on the office of Warden, had in 1282 removed him from the Hospital to the lighter duties of a Country Parish, and filled the vacancy by appointing WILLIAM DE SELE,¹ who seems to have already held preferment in the Diocese. He is styled in the Lambeth Register "Rector of Ybanure," as Ducarel reads it, and which is probably the same as "Ebbene" (now Ebony), at present a Chapelry of Appledore, but formerly an important Parish, in Romney Marsh.²

After William de Sele came MICHAEL DE WYDEWADE³ in 1304, and in 1310 JOHN DE EGLICHAM, both described as Presbyters. And in the following year Archbishop Winchelsea seems to have made a third appointment in the person of THOMAS DE (*dicto*) JORDAN.⁴ Archbishop Reynolds also made two appointments in close succession—JOHN DE WALTHAM in 1324, and WILLIAM DE MALDON in 1326; but of none of these does anything seem to be known.

In 1333, the See being vacant by the death of Archbishop Meopham, Edward III. appointed one of his own Chaplains, MARTIN DE IXNING, on whom also in 1348 he conferred the Canonry of St. Stephen's, Westminster.⁵

That was a year of sore trouble for England, and of great and frequent changes in the Wardenship of the Hospital.

¹ Archbishop Peckham's Register, f. 150, b.

² Furley's *Weald of Kent*, ii. 708. C. T. Martin, in his valuable *Letters of Peckham*, reads the word "Yhamme," and thinks it to be identical with Yghtham (Ightham).

³ Archbishop Winchelsea's Register, f. 50, a; and 297, a, b.

⁴ Archbishop Reynolds' Register, ff. 262, 264.

⁵ Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 748.

The Pestilence, as it was called, after devastating the Continent, had reached the shores of England. One of its early victims was Archbishop Bradwardine, who had succeeded John de Stratford in the Primacy, but was carried off a few weeks after his consecration ; to be followed by Ufford, who did not live to be consecrated. During the vacancies thus caused in the See the entire patronage passed to the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, and we find Prior Robert Hathbrand appointing to the Wardenship of the Maidstone Hospital JOHN COLPEPPER, a member no doubt of the old Kentish family two Centuries after so closely associated with the Parish of Hollingbourne, and also with Leeds Castle. He died within three months, of the Pestilence, and the vacancy was filled by the Prior nominating RICHARD DE NORWICH,¹ who only held it for two years. A fatality still seems to have hung over the Hospital. Archbishop Islip, who had become Primate in 1349, appointed two Wardens in rapid succession in 1351—WILLIAM DE LEGHTON in September, and RICHARD DELTRYNGE DE PECKHAM in November.² Again six years after Archbishop Islip is called on to fill the vacant post, for which he selects one SIMON DE BREDEN,³ a man who apparently had a special qualification for the office, for he added to his Priestly Orders the degree of "Doctor of Medicine," a knowledge of incalculable value for such a post in those days. During his Wardenship an important alteration was made in some of the land tenure of the Hospital property, aided doubtless, if not suggested by, Archbishop Islip's personal interest in the town and all connected with it.

¹ Christ Church (Canterbury) Register, G., f. 45.

² Archbishop Islip's Register, f. 258, b ; f. 278, a.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 278, a.

The Hospital is said to have held some of its land under what is termed a "base tenure"—that is, under an obligation "to perform uncertain and burdensome services for it;" these were now commuted for a money payment in the form of rent.¹

On Simon de Breden's death in 1372, Archbishop Wittlesey appointed Thomas Yonge, who is described as "*in utroque jure Licenciatus*," substituting a man of Law for one of Physic. The great majority of ambitious Clerics of that day made Law their study, as a stepping-stone to Ecclesiastical preferment; but there seems nothing to show that Thomas Yonge's legal lore raised him above this Wardenship, and it he seems to have held only for a short time, as five years after (in 1377) Archbishop Sudbury made two appointments—JOHN CROSSER in January, and WILLIAM RISYNGE in June, both termed Presbyters;² and a third in the last year of his Primacy (1380) in the person of JOHN LUDHAM, who in Sudbury's Register³ is called the Rector of Trenges, and in that of Archbishop Courtenay, three years after, Rector of Godmershan.⁴ As this latter benefice was in the patronage of the Archbishop, it is possible that Courtenay had given it to Ludham to reconcile him to the loss of the Wardenship of the Hospital, which he had probably already contemplated absorbing into his future College.

Some notice should now be taken of those who held a subordinate office in the Hospital under the title of "Corrodiars." Originally they were, some of them at least, Priests, to undertake the regular ministrations of the Chapel

¹ Christ Church (Canterbury) Register (A.D. 1364), H., f. 60.

² Archbishop Sudbury's Register, ff. 121, 123.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 133, b.

⁴ Archbishop Courtenay's Register, f. 253, a.

for the benefit of the pilgrims or travellers who might seek rest there. But time was effecting great changes in the religious feelings of the country. Pilgrimages, though still continued, were not so frequent; and the need of such resting-houses became less, while the erection of the bridge at Aylesford would doubtless have diverted the line of the pilgrims, by supplying a more direct route from the West, to the Shrine of St. Thomas. Thus the very constitution of this Hospital was undergoing a deteriorating change. The Wardens, as we have seen, were still selected from the Priesthood; but not so the Corrodians. They were ceasing to be regarded as essential for the regular ministrations of the Chapel. Laymen were being admitted to them, and eventually domestics, and even paupers;¹ and the Hospital was fast sinking into an Almshouse, or home for Archiepiscopal pensioners.

Such would seem to have been the state of things when Archbishop Courtenay came to the Primacy. Here was a noble Parish Church with an utterly inadequate staff—at the utmost probably only a non-resident Rector with one or more assistant Priests—to provide for the ministrations of the rapidly increasing town, and the two Chapelries of Detling and Loose. The income of the Rectory, as may be inferred from the high position of the Dignitaries who had sought and obtained it, was no doubt ample provision for such a staff (each Chantry, be it borne in mind, was a separate and special endowment), yet would not suffice to meet the demands of such an ideal Collegiate body as the Archbishop contemplated placing here.

The Tithes may be roughly estimated as producing at

¹ “*Ricardo Stoute valetto et familiari Domini Arch. Cant.,*” “*Thomæ Porter pauperi.*” Archbishop Arundel's Register, ff. 274, 282.

that time about £106, based on the following calculations. Thorne's *Chronicle* tells us that in a "Taxation" made under Richard II. in 1385¹ the moiety of the "tenth" of the Tithes (the amount remitted yearly to Rome) was *cvjs. viijd.* (£5 6s. 8d.), besides which there was the rent of farms, adjoining the College, at Bucklands, at Shyllvngton (Chillington?), Boxley, etc., producing about £65 more, making a total of somewhere about £170, or, deducting outgoings, probably about £133 in all;² and this, taking the difference in the purchasing power of money five hundred years ago at fifteen times its present value, would represent a yearly income of about £2,000.³

Meanwhile on the opposite bank of the river stood the Hospital, founded about one hundred and forty years before by his predecessor in the See, Archbishop Boniface, with a wealthy endowment, now perverted—not to say misused—to the spiritual loss of the town itself. There were the Tithes of Farleigh, under the same "Taxation" said to be then worth £13 6s. 8d., those of Linton £5 6s. 8d., and of Sutton (near Northbourne) 20s., with their Temporalities aggregating, according to Leland, £212 5s. 3d., and with all outgoings leaving a clear sum of £159 7s. 10d.,⁴ which, small as it may sound now, would represent, according to the same calculation, little short of £2,500 more.

¹ Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, p. 2172.

² "Cujus fructus redditus et proventus *ducentarum marcarum sterlingorum* secundum communem estimationem valorem annuum non excedunt, etc." Papal Bull of Boniface IX., Appendix E (1). 200 marks at 13s. 4d. would represent £133 6s. 8d.

³ Thorold Rogers calculates that in Richard II.'s time the purchasing value of money was eighteen times more than now; other writers say only twelve times more: the mean of fifteen is taken above.

⁴ Tanner's *Monastica, Kent*, xxxviii.; Leland's *Collectanea*, i. 97.

All this, taking also into account the Easter Offerings and "Altarage" or Church dues and fees, would amount to a further sum of considerable amount. Here then appeared to the practical, and no less devout, mind of Archbishop Courtenay a source from whence the endowment and patronage of the Parish Church might be materially improved, and its greater efficiency promoted by giving it a Collegiate character. Thus was he enabled to carry out in part that grander design of his predecessors in the Primacy two Centuries before.

CHAPTER V.

ALL SAINTS' COLLEGE: ITS MASTERS AND ITS DISSOLUTION.



IN speaking of Archbishop Courtenay's "College" it must be borne in mind that the term as used five hundred years ago did not imply a merely Educational institution, as it now does, but represented a body of Parochial Clergy, collected together and embodying the then Parochial system.

They were not like the members of a Monastery or Abbey, bound by vows of celibacy and personal poverty, and governed by the stern rules (*regulæ*) of a Religious Order, and hence called "Regulars;" but, being under no such vows or rules, they were known as "Seculars," though bound together, as it were, in a common brotherhood under a common Master. They were free to live in separate houses, generally within the College precincts or enclosure; nor was marriage prohibited. Their duties were to take part in the ordinary daily services of the Church, to minister to the sick, to teach the young, and exercise all the functions of a Parochial Priesthood. The distinction between the two classes has been thus happily drawn: the great aim of the Regulars would seem to have been to save their own souls, that of the Seculars to save the souls of others as well as

their own. Their Political and Ecclesiastical difference was still more boldly defined. The Monasteries all claimed to be perfectly independent of the English Hierarchy, and to recognize no superior or controlling authority but the Pope of Rome. The Colleges, on the other hand, were entirely subject to their respective Bishops.

Such was the character, such the objects, of the College which the good Archbishop designed to found.

Of the Statutes he may have drawn up, or more probably have sketched out, no record appears to have been preserved either at Maidstone or Canterbury. It is probable, as may be inferred from the several appointments to the Master-ship, that while in its earlier years he thought it wise to retain to himself and to his successor that right, yet, taking warning from the past history of the Rectory, he thought it better to forego it, when once the College was fairly established, and to delegate to the Sub-Master and Fellows the choice of their own Master, not perpetuating to the See what had proved to his predecessors so fruitful a source of contention and strife with King or Pope.

The first Master—his own selection—was Dr. JOHN WOTTON,¹ evidently a personal and intimate friend, already holding preferment in his Diocese, as Rector of Staplehurst. He was most probably, too, a member of the old and distinguished Kentish family of that name. His name appears first as holding the Rectory of Roding Beauchamp, in Essex, to which he was appointed in 1387; two years after he exchanged it for that of St. Mary, Battle,² in Sussex; and the next year by another exchange passed to Chartham,³

¹ Archbishop Courtenay's Register, f. 275.

² *Ibid.*, f. 163, b. Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 291, ii. 502.

³ Archbishop Courtenay's Register, ff. 130, 275-6.

in Kent, which he resigned in 1392 for the Rectory of Staplehurst.

It was while holding this that he was appointed by his friend the Archbishop to the Mastership of the new College of All Saints, and in the same year renewed, though apparently only for a few months, his connection with the Diocese of Chichester, by becoming Prebendary of Waltham¹ in that Cathedral.² Yet with all his changes and wanderings his chief interest and affection would seem to have centred in his College. On him doubtless devolved the grateful task of carrying on to completion the designs for the adaptation of the Choir to its Collegiate use, which had been left unfinished by his beloved patron; and his affection for his friend and co-executor, Guido de Mone,³ may be traced in his armorial bearings on one of the Miserere Stalls, among those of the Courtenay family. He also left to the College many valuable bequests in money and vestments.

Here he died in the year 1417; and here, in accordance with the wish expressed in his Will,⁴ he was buried, in the costly and richly ornamented Altar-Tomb which he had himself constructed in the South Aisle of the Chancel (previously known as the Altar of St. Thomas, and in later days as the "Arundel Chapel"); where it still stands, though in sadly defaced and mutilated condition, to testify to his attachment to the scene of his twenty years' admini-

¹ Walcott's *Fasti Cicistren*, p. 41.

² It would appear that he also at some period held the Rectories of Bukstede (Buxted), in Sussex; and Chorlewode (Charlwood), in Surrey, though no record of his appointment to either has been discovered; for his Will contains a legacy to each, as well as to Chichester Cathedral.

³ See page 31.

⁴ His Will is in Archbishop Chicheley's Register, Part I., f. 327.

stration as Master of the College. The high esteem in which he was held by his friend and patron, Archbishop Courtenay, appears in the fact of his being appointed one of his Executors; as also does the confidence reposed in him by the King, in his having been selected by Henry V., in conjunction with Sir Richard Clitherowe (or Cliderbowe), twice Sheriff for the County, as joint Guardian of the Temporalities of the See of Canterbury on Archbishop Arundel's death in 1414.¹

On Dr. Wotton's death in 1417, Archbishop Chicheley, who had succeeded Arundel in the Primacy, appointed Dr. JOHN HOLOND, or HOLLAND, LL.D. (*utriusque juris Doctorem*), claiming the right for that turn (*pro ista vice*). Of him nothing can be discovered as to his antecedents or merits. He only held the Mastership a little more than a year.

On his death in 1419 the right of election was, for the first time,² exercised by the Sub-Master and Fellows in favour of ROGER HERON,³ who is only described as "Presbiter." He was probably connected with the William Heron who, on the strength of his marrying a daughter of Lord Say,⁴ of Birling in this neighbourhood, was summoned to Parliament among the Barons in the later years of Richard II., and the earlier ones of Henry IV.,⁵ a relationship which may account for his other preferments; for in 1415 he

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iv., Part II., p. 72. Pat. Roll, 1 Henry V., Part I., m. 55.

² Appendix E (1).

³ Archbishop Chicheley's Register, f. 103, b.

⁴ Sir H. Nicholas's *Historical Peerage*, p. 248.

⁵ Dugdale's *Summons to Parliament*, 17-21 Richard II., and 1-5 Henry IV.

also had been appointed to a Prebendal Stall in Chichester Cathedral, and in 1425 was collated to the Chancellor's Stall, and in the same year to the Precentorship in the Collegiate Church at South Malling, near Tarring in Sussex.¹ This had been originally a Royal Foundation ; but in recognition of the liberality of Archbishop Theobald in 1150, who had added largely to the buildings and the endowment of the Deanery, the patronage was transferred to the See of Canterbury.² Dr. Heron would seem to have become connected—probably by the marriage of a sister—with the old Maidstone family of Beales ; for in the Will of one John Beale, preserved at Somerset House, mention is made of “his brother” (brother-in-law?), “Roger Heron, Canon of Chichester, and Master of All Saints', Maidstone.”

The connection between the two Collegiate bodies of Maidstone and South Malling was renewed in the case of Roger Heron's successor, JOHN DREWELL, LL.D. ; for he was “Dean of South Malling College” when, on Heron's resignation in 1441, he was elected to the Mastership at Maidstone.³ His was but a short tenure of the office, for he resigned it two years after. If he was the John Drewell (or Druell) who was appointed to the Archdeaconry of Exeter in that year (1443), he died there in 1453 ;⁴ but while many bequests are made to Exeter Cathedral in his Will, there is not one, nor any allusion even, to the College at Maidstone. It is far more probable that he was the future Rector of Fulham (in 1452), which he resigned six years after, and was

¹ Archbishop Chicheley's Register, ff. 155, 158, a. Walcott's *Fasti Cicistren*, p. 31.

² Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, p. 549.

³ Archbishop Chicheley's Register, p. 230, a.

⁴ Archbishop Kempe's Register, f. 290, a.

appointed Treasurer of St. Paul's,¹ which he also resigned in 1467. While holding this he would have acted as Commissary to Archbishop BOURCHIER, in the trial concerning the Will of Sir John Fastolf (Falstaff?) in 1464.²

He was succeeded in the All Saints' Mastership by one PETER STUCKLEY in 1444, when the right of nomination appears to have been again claimed by the Archbishop; and the only description of this nominee of Archbishop Stafford is that he was "a Bachelor of Laws" (*in utroque jure baccalaureus*). He died in 1450, when Dr. ROBERT SMYTH, "a Chaplain of the Archbishop," was elected.³ He had been appointed by the Archbishop in 1443 to the Rectory of St. Vedast, in the City of London, which he retained with the Mastership till his death in 1457.⁴ He was buried, in accordance with the desire expressed in his Will,⁵ in the Chapel of St. Thomas—*i.e.*, in the South Aisle of the Chancel—of All Saints' Church, beside the tomb of the first Master, Dr. Wotton.

After Dr. Robert Smyth came THOMAS BOLEYN, LL.D., in 1458,⁶ of whom, from the very frequent occurrence of the name at that period, it is difficult to trace out the history; for there is no direct evidence of a reliable character to connect any of the many of the same name with the Master of the Maidstone College, beyond a MS. note left by that accurate Antiquary, Browne Willis, and preserved among Cole's Additional MSS. in the British Museum, in which he

¹ Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 105.

² *Paston Letters* (Gairdner's Ed.), ii. 155-6.

³ Archbishop Stafford's Register, f. 107.

⁴ Newcourt, i. 565, 677.

⁵ Wills Dep. (Somerset House), Stockton, IV., f. 109, b.

⁶ Archbishop Bouchier's Register, I.; f. 113.

says that the Thomas Boleyn who was Master of this College was also a "Canon of St. Neots"¹ (whether of the Monastery in Cornwall or the Abbey in Huntingdonshire is not stated), and that he died in 1470.² Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, says there was a Rector of Chelsea in 1442, a Canon of Hereford in 1444, one of Portpoole (at St. Paul's) in 1447, a Sub-Dean of Wells in 1450, and Precentor in 1451,³ of that name, and it is quite possible that in that age of pluralities the Master of the College at Maidstone may also have held any, and even all, of these appointments, especially if he were a scion of that house of Boleyn which was already rising into repute, and within a Century was to form a fatal connection with Royalty itself.

Unfortunately the Lambeth Registers throw no light on this obscure point. The record of his successor's appointment might have shown the date of Boleyn's death or resignation: but no such entry appears to remove the doubt; and even the name of his successor only occurs incidentally in the record of the next appointment, which took place "on the resignation of Dr. JOHN FRESTON, the late Master," in 1475,⁴ when Dr. JOHN LEE was elected. There is nothing to tell who this John Freston was, unless he was identical with the John Freston⁵ who as "Sub-Master" joined in the election

¹ Additional MSS. 5827 (Cole's MS., xxvi. 200). Beale Poste, in his *History of the College*, p. 34, quotes the same MS., but makes it say that Thomas Boleyn was "Canon of St. Roche, in Luxemburg."

² If 1470 be the correct date for his death, this Thomas Boleyn cannot be the same as the one mentioned by Le Neve, *Fasti*, vol. iii., p. 677, as Master of Gonville Hall, Caius College, in 1454, for he was alive in 1474.

³ Newcourt, vol. i., p. 199. Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 157, 171.

⁴ Archbishop Bouchier's Register, I., f. 13.

⁵ Not *Fyrston*, as given in Gilbert's *Antiquities of Maidstone*, p. 7.

of Dr. Lee, having for some reason subsided from the Mastership into the subordinate office, to make way for a successor who was probably connected with the Maidstone family of that name, which, according to local tradition, occupied a Mansion in Earl Street,¹ one of the members of which, Sir Richard Lee, was Lord Mayor of London in 1461, and again in 1470, and Sheriff for the County of Kent in 1480.²

This John Lee, "Decretorum Doctor," had been appointed in 1462 to the Vicarage of Sandwich by Dr. Thomas Chichele,³ brother of the Archbishop and Archdeacon of Canterbury; he was probably also the Dr. John Lee, D.D., who was appointed to the Rectory of Whitechapel in 1464, and to the Vicarage of Stepney in 1471,⁴ which he resigned two years after, and became Master of All Saints' College in 1475, retaining it and the Vicarage of Sandwich to the day of his death. His Will⁵ evinces his special regard for the College and Town; for he bequeathed some tenements he owned at Sandwich and lands at Maidstone to the Master and Fellows of the College, on condition of Masses being duly said for his soul; and the residue of his property to be given in Marriage portions to five Maidstone girls.

He was succeeded in the Mastership of the College in 1495 by Dr. JOHN CAMBERTON, S.T.P.,⁶ who had been a Fellow

¹ Gilbert's *Antiquities of Maidstone*, p. 16.

² Philipott's *Villare Centianum*, p. 27.

³ Archbishop Bouchier's Register, f. 85, b.

⁴ Newcourt's *Repertorium*, pp. 699, 740.

⁵ Will Dep. (Somerset House), Vox, X., f. 23.

⁶ Not *Comberton*, as given by Beale Poste and others. Archbishop Morton's Register, f. 158; where the circumstances of his unanimous election by the Sub-Master and Fellows are detailed with more than usual fulness. Appendix E (2).

of Pembroke Hall (now College), Cambridge;¹ beyond which fact nothing seems to be known of him. His Will,² dated 1505, after expressing the wish that he should be buried in the Choir, or Chancel, of the Collegiate Church, specifies a few legacies to local objects, for the repair of St. Faith's Church, of the large bridge (*magni pontis*), and the dangerous roadways (*viarum nocivarum*), between Tovil and Stone Street, with a small sum to his old College at Cambridge, and a sum for a Chaplain to celebrate Masses "at the altar of Jesus, in the College Church at Maidstone," for his soul, and the souls of his parents, etc., etc., and also for that of "the Lord Cardinal," doubtless Archbishop Morton, who had appointed him to the College at Maidstone, and had died four years before.

After a succession of men of whom comparatively so little is known, appears one conspicuous among the literati of his day, WILLIAM GROCYN,³ a man whose distinguished learning gave an *éclat* to the age in which he lived, styled, as he was, the "Patriarch of English Literature," being undoubtedly the prime mover of the great Revival in learning which

¹ Admission Register of Pembroke College, Cambridge, obligingly communicated by the present Master.

² Will Dep. (Somerset House), Adeane, VI.

³ A name so unfamiliar to the English ear not unnaturally appears in every form of phonetic spelling: for instance, in the Register of Exeter College, Oxford, we find it thus variously spelt—*Grosine*, *Grosyne*, *Grosune*, and *Grosun* (Boase's *Reg. Coll. Exon.*); and *Grosun* on the Indenture of his appointment to St. Laurence, Old Jewry, as preserved at Balliol College, which in Newcourt's *Reperitorium* becomes, evidently by a typographical error, *Grayne*; while in the Diocesan Register of London he is entered among the Rectors of Shepperton as *Groosun*; and Anthony a' Wood (*Hist. and Antiq.*, ii. 134) calls him *Grocin*. It is written *Grocyn* in the Lambeth Registers and in his own Will, and is generally accepted in that form.

marked the close of the 15th Century. His career, which happily we are able to trace from his boyhood to his grave, deserves the fullest record of incidents gathered from every available source. A Wykehamist by birth as well as by education—for he was born at Collerne in Wilts,¹ on a farm which his father held under New College—he obtained a Scholarship at Winchester in 1463, and passed on two years after to New College, where after two more years he was admitted to a Fellowship; this he vacated in 1481, on being appointed to the College living of Newnton Longueville, in Buckinghamshire.² And here his connection with his old College seems to have ceased, and he transferred his allegiance from the double foundations of William of Wykeham to that of William Waynflete; for he next appears as “Divinity Reader” at Magdalen College. In this office he had the honour to take part in a Theological disputation before Richard III., on the occasion of the King visiting Oxford in 1483;³ and, greater honour still, before William Waynflete himself, the (now aged) Founder of that noble College, an old Wykehamist, as well as then Bishop of Winchester.

In 1488 he resigned this Readership, and went to Italy, that he might study Greek more deeply; for in those days Latin and Logic were “the be-all and end-all” of the Oxford course. Italy had now become the harbour of refuge for the men of art and science of the time, who, forced to fly for their lives from Constantinople, the Capital of the Eastern

¹ Not at *Bristol*, as generally said, though his name is so entered in the New College Register.

² These details of his earlier life have been kindly communicated by the present Warden of New College and the President of Magdalen.

³ Anthony a' Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*, i. 639.

Empire, before the conquering Turks, had to seek sanctuary amid the classical ruins of the older Imperial City of Rome, and there, at the feet of the Masters of the "Classic Revival," did Grocyn live for three years, drinking in deep draughts of that rich but long-neglected language with which, on his return to Oxford, he was enabled, from his rented rooms at Exeter College,¹ in spite of keen and bitter opposition, to re-mould and revolutionize the effete system of teaching hitherto prevalent in the Universities. Here he soon gathered around him as his pupils in Greek, and as personal friends, some of the most rising intellects of the day : John Colet, the future munificent Dean of St. Paul's, and founder of St. Paul's School ; William Lilye, its first Master ; Thomas Linacre, to whom England is indebted for her College of Physicians ; Sir Thomas More, then a mere boy, but to become the brilliant scholar, the devout Christian, and the noblest of the many victims of Henry VIII.'s suspicious and tyrannical temper ; and even the learned Erasmus himself, by general consent the greatest Greek Scholar of that period.²

On so bright and influential an ornament of his day Church preferment, as might be expected, flowed in freely. His College living of Newnton Longueville led to his being appointed in 1485 to the Prebend of South Scarle in Lincoln Cathedral ;³ then to the Rectory of Depdene, in Suffolk (which he resigned in 1493) ; three years after to the Rectory of St. Laurence, Old Jewry,⁴ a Balliol College living, which had apparently lapsed to the Bishop of London,

¹ Boase's *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis*, p. 27.

² Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 726.

³ B. Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals*, iii. 236.

⁴ Bishop Savage's Register (London Dioc.), A.D. 1496.

an appointment in which probably the hand of his old friend and pupil, Dean Colet, may be detected; in 1504 another old Oxford friend, Sir Bartholomew Reade, appointed him to the Rectory of Shepperton in Middlesex; and two years later Archbishop Warham, the patron of Erasmus, selected him for the Mastership of All Hallows (All Saints), Maidstone; then in 1511 he also appointed him to the Rectory of East Peckham, "on condition of his placing a Vicar there for the cure of the souls of the Parishioners."¹

But as the Century advanced he evidently began to feel his powers failing, for he resigned one benefice after another—Shepperton in 1513, St. Laurence, Old Jewry, in 1517, and East Peckham the same year—and in 1519² he died at Maidstone, a stroke of the palsy carrying him off, when, in the touching language of his friend Erasmus, he had out-lived himself ("*sibi ipsi superstitem*").

His Will³ indicates the depth of his friendships; his two Executors were his Godson (*filiolus*), William Lilye, the son of his old Oxford pupil, and the first Master of St. Paul's School, and Thomas Linacre, now in Holy Orders (*Clerus*); and in accordance with his wish he was buried in the choir of All Saints' Church. Like many another man of learning, he must have experienced times of pecuniary difficulty. The *res angusta domi* must have been known to him; but he found a friend in Dr. Yonge, himself an old New College Fellow, at that time Master of the Rolls, with whom he seems to have deposited some plate as security for a loan; but on Dr. Yonge's death a clause was found in his Will

¹ Archbishop Warham's Register, f. 344.

² A. a' Wood gives 1522 as the date of his death, no doubt from his Will not being proved till that year.

³ Lansdowne MSS. (British Museum), xv. 33.

—a pleasing token of regard—that “Master Grocyn shall have his plate delivered to him, which I have now in pledge, without any manner of redemption.”¹

After a brief interval of a few months, during which JOHN PENYNTON, M.A.,² another Wykehamist, who had been elected on Grocyn’s death in 1519, was Master, but of whom nothing more appears to be on record, came a third Wykehamist to occupy the vacated chair in the person of Dr. JOHN LEEFE.³ He was a native of East Stratton, a hamlet in the parish of Micheldever, Hants, and was admitted to a Winchester Scholarship in 1504, and passed on to New College in 1508, where he succeeded to a Fellowship after his two years’ probation.⁴ This he held till 1517, when he left Oxford; but he did not, as Grocyn seems to have done, sever his connection with William of Wykeham’s noble Foundations; for he took the Degree of Doctor of Civil Law in 1520, and was elected to a Fellowship at Winchester College, which led the way to subsequent preferment as Rector of Ashe, in Hampshire, a Winchester College living, and also to the Mastership of St. Cross, near that City. He was likewise about the same time appointed by a private friend to the Rectory of Brown-

¹ Butler’s *Life of Erasmus*, p. 59. Dr. Yonge is buried in the Rolls Chapel, where an effigy over his tomb is said to have been the work of Torregiano, the sculptor of the beautiful tomb of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey.

² Archbishop Warham’s Register, f. 369.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 401. This name also undergoes a variety of changes, from Leefe, which is probably the correct form, to *Lefe*, *Leef*, *L effee*, *Leff*, *Leyf*; and in Dugdale’s *Monastica* it appears as *Lease* (vol. vi., p. 1394), evidently a typographical error.

⁴ For the particulars of Leefe’s early School and College life the writer is again indebted to the present Warden of New College, and also to the Warden of Winchester College.

Candover, in Hampshire.¹ An interesting fact in his family history may be here mentioned, as accounting for some at least of his preferments. His mother had married, as her second husband, a Warham,² doubtless a near kinsman of the Archbishop, who was by birth a near neighbour of the Leefe family, and was himself a Wykehamist, thus securing for her son a powerful patron in the Primate, who in 1519 obtained for him the election to the Mastership of Maidstone College, and in 1529 collated him to the then valuable Rectory of Bedynden (Biddenden), and two years after to a Canonry, and then to the Treasurership, in South Malling College. He also appointed him his Vicar-General, and Keeper of the Spiritualities of the See of Canterbury.

Leefe was destined to be the last of the Masters of the College. With him the glory and the usefulness of Archbishop Courtenay's Foundation was to expire after a Century and a half of undoubted benefit to the spiritual interests of the town. On its suppression in 1547, he and his staff were all pensioned off. His share in the division of the spoil was a pension of £5 a year! with the consolation that the Commissioners under the Augmentation Office certified that he was "a Doctor of Dyvinitie of honest qualities and conversation." However, his relationship to the late Primate doubtless stood him in good stead; for Bishop Bonner appointed him to a Prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral on his surrender of the Maidstone Mastership; and he seems to have retained the Mastership of St. Cross, and the Rectory of Biddenden, and probably his other preferments, till his death in 1557. In his Will,³ are legacies to dependants of St. Cross, to the

¹ The exact dates of these appointments are not known.

² Will of Alice Warham at Somerset House, Bodfelde, X.

³ Will Dep. (Somerset House), Wrastley, XXIX.

Bishop of Winchester, and some lands at Maidstone to Winchester College for a yearly "*obit*" for a space of twenty years ; but, unlike Grocyn's, not a single bequest to Maidstone. He was buried in the Winchester College Chapel, where a brass recorded the fact in Latin Elegiacs, the opening lines of which contained a happy play upon his name—

"Nominis hic quid habet, Lector, si forte requiris,
A folii ductum nomine nomen habet ;"

which may be thus turned into English—

"Reader, if you wish to know
What name he had who lies below,
From foliage taken (to be brief),
In life he had the name of 'Leaf.'"

As not an unfitting close to our death-song over the Maidstone College, it will be interesting to notice how in the minds of its later Masters, at the most solemn moments of their lives, when making their Wills, indications may be detected of the gradual adoption of those religious views which constitute the deepest characteristics of the Reformation. They mark the secret growth of that determination not only to emancipate themselves from the thralldom of Papal power, but also to remove those incrustations of Romish doctrine which were overlaying, though forming no integral part of, the purer and more Apostolic faith held by the original English Church. It is in the *formulae* adopted by successive Masters that this growing desire can be so clearly traced. The expression used by Robert Sibthorp in 1390 has been already noticed—"I commend my soul to my Lord Jesus ;" but this disciple of John Wickliffe was far in

advance of his age. The old form seemed still to remain in general use. In 1457 Robert Smyth bequeathed his soul to "Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all Saints." With his successor, John Lee, in 1495, the name of the Virgin disappears; he commends his soul to "Almighty God" alone. John Camberton, in 1506, while still retaining a belief in the value of prayers for the dead, provides that Masses for his soul shall be said at "the Altar of Jesus." Grocyn, however, commends his soul to "Almighty God, my Maker and Redeemer;" while John Leefe, in 1557, says, "I commend my soul to God the Father Omnipotent, humbly beseeching Him of His infinite goodness to pardon my sins, etc., for His Son Jesus Christ's sake."¹

Thus was the Romish dogma of Mariolatry dying out in the English Church, and the purer worship of the "One Only Mediator" being restored.

However, All Saints' College and all kindred Institutions were doomed.

It must be admitted that many and deplorable were the corruptions in doctrine, and irregularities in discipline, which had for some years been creeping into the Church in this Country; yet none, one would think, so fatal as not to admit of remedy—none so deeply rooted into her system as to require "root and branch" annihilation. Gross impostures, and even immoralities, under the veil too of religion, had brought obloquy, not to say infamy, on some of the Religious Houses, and seemed in such notorious cases to justify and demand the most extreme

¹ For the opportunity of consulting these Wills, and much help therein, the writer is indebted to the kindness of J. Challenor Smith, Esq., of the Literary Inquiry Dep., Somerset House.

measures. Many, meanwhile, were the efforts of devout Churchmen to remove these abuses, conspicuous among them the endeavours of Archbishops Morton and Warham; but all attempts to reform their own body were opposed and thwarted by designing and interested placemen; before their eyes the vast wealth of some of the Monasteries presented so tempting and irresistible a bait to an unprincipled and needy body of Courtiers. Thus it befell that under the united influence of their vices and their riches, when the long-gathering storm burst, it swept before it all such Institutions, Monastic and Collegiate, Regular and Secular alike, involving all in one common ruin; even Maidstone College, in the fulness of life and usefulness, might not be spared, when Boxley Abbey, a scene of idle imposture, was only too justly doomed.¹

Not that the storm really burst suddenly; it had been long gathering. Its yet distant thunders could be heard when, early in the 15th Century, Henry V. suppressed the "Alien Priories," most of them "Cells" attached to Norman Abbeys, which largely subsidized the King of France in his wars with England. A Century later, Henry VIII., at the suggestion of Wolsey, suppressed many of the smaller Monasteries, among which idleness and immorality had become a crying scandal, and utilized their revenues for the foundation of his College at Oxford, and the endowment of additional Bishoprics. But three years after, when the rupture with the Pope had taken place, and the Royal Supremacy had been asserted, the King made a far wider swoop, and pounced upon all the Monasteries in the kingdom, large as well as small, good and bad alike; and now, no longer under the pretext of turning their

¹ Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent* (1596), pp. 230-237.

revenues to better account, appropriated all their wealth in land, or money, or plate, into the newly constituted "Augmentation Fund," as Royal spoil to pander to his own sensual luxuries, or to pay off his gambling debts, or to reward the vile subserviency of his dissolute Courtiers. Professing to see in every Abbey and Monastery a hotbed of Papal intrigue—in every Abbot and Prior an emissary of the Pope—he argued that their entire extermination was necessary for the peace and well-being of the Kingdom and the safety of the Throne.

It is with the College at Maidstone our story mainly lies. Its fate was deferred for a few years. The year 1538 had seen the passing of the Act which doomed the lesser of the Monastic Bodies, and two years after the whole of them. Among the earliest of these last had been the Abbey at Boxley. Here the "Rood of Grace," as it was called, though better known as the "Winking Image of the Virgin," had long obtained a perilous notoriety, backed too by the dangerous repute of its enormous wealth. This was at once condemned,¹ its wealth transferred to the Royal coffers, and the land made over by the King to Sir Thomas Wyat, of Allington Castle.

The fairly endowed College of Maidstone close by had doubtless attracted the covetous eyes of Henry's greedy Satellites. But then it was a College of "Seculars," and Parochial in its character, and therefore for the present safe from the legalized spoliation. For in the original attack some distinction was drawn between Monastic property and that which belonged more strictly to the Church. As a rule the latter was not touched in the reign of

¹ This Image and its clever mechanism were publicly exposed at St. Paul's Cross on Sunday, 24th February, 1539.

Henry VIII., and on this principle the Rectorial revenues of Maidstone should have escaped. But unfortunately under Archbishop Courtenay's arrangement the income of the old "Hospital" had been so blended with that of the Parish Church—the two so incorporated into one common fund—that in the general confiscation all went together, under the plausible fiction of a "Deed of Exchange" between the Archbishop and the King. Cranmer, with his pliant subserviency, or, as some would say, with his far-seeing shrewdness, thought it well to anticipate its compulsory dissolution by including it among the several Manors which belonged to the See, and by this "Deed of Exchange" granted to the King "all the Manor and Lordship of Maidstone, etc.," and therewith "the Advowson and Patronage of the College and Church,"¹ thus probably saving to the College a few more years of useful existence—for it was not actually surrendered till the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.

There are circumstances connected with this surrender which are of more than local interest, and indeed help to illustrate a by no means unimportant page in the history of the English Church. The revenues of the College were derived from several different sources. There were the Tithes and lands belonging originally to the Rectory; the endowments of Boniface's Hospital, which Courtenay had transferred to his College; and also the endowments of the different Chantries. These were all regarded as independent sources of income, and in the distribution each formed the subject of a separate Grant; and shall here be separately dealt with.

¹ Augmentation Office Records (Record Office), A. 21, 24. For Abstract of this Indenture, see B. Poste's *History of the College*, p. 39.

The first to be appropriated, under an Act passed in 1540,¹ were the Chantries—*i.e.*, the endowments of the Side-Altars, or Chantry Chapels, as they were called. Each of these had its own *Cantarista*, or Chantry-Priest—an independent appointment duly recorded in the Register of successive Archbishops, not included in the general staff of the College, nor ordinarily taking any part in the regular services of the Church, but having their special function of *chanting* (hence their name) Masses for the souls in Purgatory of the founders and their relatives. The revenues also attached to these Chantries, as appears in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII., were regarded as being perfectly distinct from those of the College, and were accordingly assigned away by separate Grants of the Crown. Does not this distinctness of the appointments, the duties, and the incomes of these Cantaristæ prove that such Masses—the very *raison d'être* of these Chantries—formed no integral part of the original ritual and teaching of the English Church, but were a parasitical outgrowth the germ of which came from Rome? Naturally, therefore, they were among the first to be swept away before the rising tide of Reformation zeal, backed up by political greed.

The Chantry connected with the Altar of St. Katherine,³ at the East end of the South Aisle of the Nave—commonly known as Vinter's Chantry, from the name of the founder; or as Goulde's Chapel, from the Estate that formed its endowment—was the first to be disposed of. This was evidently one of considerable value. Its original endowment

¹ Augmentation Office Records (Record Office), A. 21.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, temp. Henry VIII., vol. i., pp. 75, 76.

³ See pp. 18, 19.

had been for two Priests,¹ each to receive £20 a year (but only one seems to have ever been appointed at a time); therefore the whole income (no inconsiderable sum in those days) would have gone to him. This, with a dwelling house (*capitalis mansio*) with orchard and garden adjacent, was sold by the King to Sir George Blage or Blagge,² from whom it was transferred to Sir Walter Hendley, and through many hands has passed to the Earl of Romney.

The Chantry connected with the Altar of St. Thomas at the East end of the South Aisle of the Chancel, and known as the "Arundel Chapel," as owing its endowment to that Archbishop from the Great Tithes of Northfleet, formed part of the King's grant to Lord Cobham; while that of the Chantry Chapel on the North of the Chancel, which had been assigned for the use of the Brethren of the "Fraternity of Corpus Christi," was on its suppression converted into endowment for a Grammar School, opened in the old Hall of the Fraternity, as will appear in a subsequent chapter.

Here it is worth noting that, when once in the King's hands, the distinction was very strictly observed in the subsequent distribution. The Rectorial Lands and the Tithes were granted to Sir Thomas Wyat, of Allington Castle, at a rental of £118 6s. 5d., subject to the payment of the salaries of "Curates" for Maidstone Parish Church,

¹ Archbishop Wittlesey's Register, f. 82, a; and Historical MSS. Commissioners' Report, V.; M. 221, in the Records of the Canterbury Dean and Chapter.

² Patent Rolls, 4 Edward VI., pt. i. (Beale Poste's History, p. 47). This estate, which lies on the Headcorn Road, between two and three miles South-east of Maidstone, still retains the name of "Gould's Court, etc."

and its Chapelries of Loose and Detling; while the site of the College and the lands appertaining thereto, valued at £212 5s. 7d.,¹ subject to outgoings which left about £160 clear, were sold to Sir George Brooke, Lord Cobham, for £1,082. The advowsons of the Church of Maidstone, with that of Northfleet, granted by Archbishop Arundel to the Chantry he founded, and those of Farleigh, Linton, and Sutton near Northbourne, forming the original endowment of Boniface's Hospital, were all for the time, and Northfleet and Farleigh still are, retained by the Crown.

At the time of the so-called "Surrender" of the College, the Staff consisted, according to the Certificate of the Commissioners preserved in the "Augmentation Office,"² of the following members:—John Leefe (erroneously spelt Leessee), the Master or Warden, 59 years of age; Thomas Wood (or Ward), Sub-Master, aged 60; John Porter, Sacrist, aged 41; Thomas Pyne (also spelt Pyend), Arthur Butler, George Prior, all three about 60 years of age, and John Parker, 70; the last four being termed "Stipendiary Priests," and pronounced by the Commissioners to be "of small learning, howbeit of honest conversation." Besides these were John Godfrey, the Chantry Priest of "Goulde's Chapel;" and George Denham, attached to the Chantry Chapel of "the Fraternity of Corpus Christi."³

Of these the Master, John Leefe, as already mentioned, received, besides a Pension from the College funds as a *solatium*, a Prebendal Stall at St Paul's and other appointments. Of the Sub-Master and the Stipendiary Priests,

¹ Dugdale's *Monastica*, vol. vi., p. 1394.

² Public Record Office, Kent, 28, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 29, 80, and 233, 87.

Wood (or Ward), Pyne, Butler, Prior, and Parker, nothing seems to be on record save that they each received a pension—the Sub-Master and the Sacrist, £5, each of the others £4, charged on the Augmentation Office ; sums which represent about £75 and £60 respectively in the present currency.

A Nemesis, however, seemed to hang over such misappropriation of lands that had been consecrated to the Church's use. Here, as elsewhere, this unholy spoliation carried with it its own retribution. The houses of Wyatt and Cobham had but brief enjoyment of their ill-gotten wealth: the son of Sir Thomas Wyatt lost his property and his life on the scaffold in the reign of Queen Mary; and the grandson of Lord Cobham, attainted for high treason in Sir Walter Raleigh's conspiracy, hardly escaped with his life, forfeiting all his estates to the Crown, while in his younger brother the family became extinct.

CHAPTER VI.

ALL SAINTS' A PARISH CHURCH.



IT was indeed a sad and gloomy day for Maidstone when the young King, Edward VI., inaugurated his brief reign under the self-seeking misrepresentations of his uncle, the Protector Somerset, and his minions, by dooming the College to "Dissolution,"—when a body of Clergy in full working order and amply endowed, consisting of a Master, a Sub-Master, and five Fellows or Chaplains, with as many Lay-Clerks, were swept away to give place to one single "Curate," whose scant stipend was grudgingly and irregularly, and sometimes only under remonstrance from the Archbishop, doled out by the too often unscrupulous "High and Mighty Lay Impropiator" of the Church's revenues.

The only one of the old College Staff whose subsequent career can be traced is the Sacrist, JOHN PORTER, or *Sir* John Porter, as he is always called in the Parish Registers, this being the title of courtesy assigned to the officiating Clergy in those days, as the English equivalent for "*Dominus*," their previous Latin title. This John Porter supplies the connecting link between the suppressed College and the henceforth Parish Church. He remained under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, as the "Parish Priest,"

by which designation he was now always known ; he also held the Rectory of Crundale, which had been attached to the College in 1396 by Richard II. But on Elizabeth's coming to the throne he was regarded with suspicion, and denounced as a "Popish Recusant," and suspended from his office by the Royal Commissioners, who, however, permitted him to remain in Maidstone, or to reside in any part of Kent—except Canterbury¹—this exception being probably made because, notwithstanding the Commissioners contemptuously styled him "an unlearned Priest," he was a man of generally recognized ability, and it was feared his influence might be prejudicial to the Reformation views, which were known to be at the time unpopular in the Metropolitcal City. He must, however, have succeeded in living down this suspicion, for he appears to have been subsequently allowed to act as Curate of Loose, and on his death, in 1562, was buried in his old Parish Church of All Saints.

Of Porter's successors it is very difficult to draw up a continuous reliable list, from the absence of any entry in the Lambeth Registers of appointments to All Saints' Church from the suppression of the College to the time of Archbishop Sheldon ; indeed, none appears between the years 1506, when J. Leefe was elected Master, and the year 1677, with the single exception of that of Robert Barrell by Archbishop Abbot, in 1620—an absence which may probably be accounted for by the fact that during that interval all were regarded as CURATES, and were removable at the Archbishops' pleasure. This difficulty is moreover increased by the appearance of many names in the Borough Records—that is, the Minutes of Burghmote Meetings—which have no place in the Church Registers. For instance, the name of

¹ Strype's *Annals*, etc. (1824), vol. i., p. 414.

Richard Auger, or Augar, appears as "Curate,"¹ as in conjunction with the Churchwardens, vouching for the accuracy of an Inventory of Church Plate, etc., at the time of the Suppression; then that of John Day, in 1557, who is said to have been a nominee of Cardinal Pole. Both these names occur during the period in which it is clear that John Porter was really "Parish Priest," for he was not removed till the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

Not that the connection of these two—Auger and Day—whatever their exact position, was without incidents of historic interest. In the person of the former occurred an event which marked one of the epochs of the English Church. An Act had been passed in 1549 legalizing the marriage of the Clergy, and eight years after Richard Auger "took the benefit of the Act," and, renouncing celibacy, took to himself to wife a Maidstone lady named "Chrystyan Maylard," obtaining the services of Thomas Porter, the Parish Priest, and ex-Sacrist of the College, to perform the ceremony! While the name of John Day is associated with a very different and a sadder scene,² enacted in the Fair Meadow, then called the King's Meadow, one of too many similar scenes which brought undying obloquy on the reign of Queen Mary—the burning of the "Maidstone Martyrs." In an address to the unhappy victims while bound to the stake, he showed himself a worthy satellite of Nicholas Harpsfield, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, who had issued their Death-Warrant, and gave vent to language so bitter and cruel, so full of fanatic fiendish malignity, as to grieve the gentler and more noble spirit of his patron, the Cardinal

¹ Newton's *History*, pp. 49, 62.

² Roger Hall's original Letter to Foxe describing this scene is among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 416, Art. 75.

Archbishop. For even John Foxe, little as was the love he bore to the Papacy, says of the Cardinal, that he "was no otherwise to be reputed than for a Papist, yet again it is to be supposed that he was none of the bloody and cruel sort of Papists," etc.¹ Day, however, remained at Maidstone till Elizabeth came to the Throne and Parker to the Primacy, when he was summarily removed, being convicted, moreover, of leading a most scandalous life, and being a habitual gambler and drunkard.²

Newton also names two other persons supposed to have been connected with Maidstone Church—Thomas Hytton (or Hitton), and John Hoker. But William Tyndale, whom Newton gives as his authority for Hytton, really only mentions the name as having been one of those "whom the Bishops of Rochester and Canterbury slew at Maidstone," and numbers him among the Martyrs of the Papacy, but not as having ever been Curate here. Indeed, according to Hytton's own confession, that he had been living abroad for nine years, any connection with Maidstone would have been with the College before its suppression; yet his name does not appear on any of the lists of the College Staff.

Then as to John Hoker; his name is introduced by Newton on the authority of Bishop Burnett, who styles him "Minister of Maidstone."³ But as he is the reputed writer of a letter to Bullinger, giving a full description of the imposture of the "Holy Rood" at Boxley—and that was exposed and destroyed in 1538—he, too, must have lived before the "Suppression of the College;" the letter itself, moreover, has only the simple heading, "*Johannes Hokerus*

¹ *Acts and Monuments* (Townsend's Ed., 1849), viii. 308.

² Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker* (1821), i. 468-470.

³ *History of the Reformation* (N. Pocock's Ed.), vi. 194.

Maydstoniensis," indicating merely that he was a resident here, and not necessarily connecting him with either the College or the Curacy.

It were injustice to the more amiable and gentle, and grievously maligned, Cardinal Pole—to whose character John Foxe's testimony has been already given, and of whom Collier¹ also says that any seeming connivance with Harpsfield's cruelties was the result of Papal pressure—not to record here an effort made by him to ameliorate the financial position of many of the Churches (Maidstone among them) which had suffered so severely from the legalized spoliation of their revenues. He succeeded in persuading Queen Mary to undo some of the sacrilegious wrong which had been perpetrated by her father and her brother. He obtained in 1558 the passing of an Act,² that out of the incomes of the benefices which had been appropriated and were still retained in the hands of the Crown, some restitution should be made to enable the poorer Incumbents to live. He represented to the Queen that many Rectories and Vicarages were then void solely because the incomes were too small to sustain able and efficient Clergy, while the responsibility for such a deplorable state of things rested with the Patron. He went so far as to offer to relieve her of the burden of this responsibility, and to give her out of his own purse *seven thousand pounds*, if she would transfer the patronage to him. The Act sanctioning it was passed, and the following week he issued orders for a Commission to carry out its objects; but within a fortnight both Pole and Mary had passed away to their account, and the Cardinal's noble plan collapsed.

¹ Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* (1852), vi. 181.

² 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, 22nd October, 1558. Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1822), pp. 121-123.

One of the earliest steps, however, taken by Elizabeth, with her favourite Matthew Parker in the See of Canterbury, was to transfer the Rectorial and Manorial income, which on Wyat's attainder had reverted to the Crown, to the Primacy, subject to certain specified payments to the officiating Clergyman of the Parish Church, with its two Chapelries of Loose and Detling, which were very soon after detached and made independent Cures. Hence the Clergy of the Parish Church of Maidstone came to be called "Archbishop's Curates." This position—their being removable at pleasure, and lacking that permanency involved in a Collation or Institution—would doubtless account for the absence of any entries of appointments to Maidstone in the Archbishop's Registers at Lambeth, an absence which, as already noticed, makes it rather difficult to trace the succession of Curates for some years.

When the name of John Porter ceases in the Parish Register, in the year 1559 (the date of his removal, as already stated), that of ROBERT CARR, sometimes spelt "Carre," and signed "Car" by himself in the Parish Register Books, takes its place, and continues till 1606, though he apparently retained the Curacy till 1620. Respecting him, the only information to be gained comes from the entries in the Burghmote Records, from which it may be inferred that Maidstone enjoyed a long spell of peace and happiness, and that he succeeded in gaining much respect as well as popularity.

It would seem, however, that the Corporation regarded him as being *their* Curate, for while they marked their approval of his conduct by conferring on him the Municipal honour of electing him a Jurat, they also seemed to have claimed the right to exercise considerable control over the Church

Services, and the regulation of Church Fees, etc.¹ Moreover, in consideration of his growing infirmities, they provided him, either from Municipal funds or by private subscription, with an Assistant; in which capacity probably the names of Thomas Tymme, in 1571, and Richard Storer,² in 1574, occur as "our Minister;" while in the later years of the old man's life his son William, who had been appointed Parish Clerk, was allowed to act as his father's Assistant, for which the Corporation voted him £10 a year addition to his Clerk's fees, and in 1617 doubled this allowance. Regarding this second grant to William Carr an interesting Minute occurs in the Burghmote Records, under date 16th March, 1618, to this effect: "Whereas by an Assembly or Meeting at the Church it was thought fitt to allowe Mr. William Carre (*sic*) for his encouragement in his study tenne poundes per annum, synce which tyme having had experience of his forwardness in his paynes-taking in preaching, and of his sufficiencie therein; It is now at this Courte thought fitt to encrease his said allowance unto tenne poundes per annum more, by such encrease of Church Cess and for Church busynesse as formerlye, which we desire to be confirmed at the next Church Meeting; with this caution or proviso nevertheless, that neither the former allowance nor this further encrease of allowance shall be any prejudice or example in tyme to come for any other to demand or have the like, without like order and approbation as in this ys now of Love and Curtisy and

¹ This claim was not without some semblance of authority to support it, from the wording of the Charter by which James I. in 1603 assigned the Church for the use of the town. Appendix F (1).

² This Richard Storer was described in the "Burghmote Records" as "Minister;" and in his Will, which is in the Diocesan Prerogative Court at Canterbury, styled himself "Curate of Maidstone."

not otherwise allowed.”¹ Of this further grant he had but a short enjoyment, for he died in the course of that year, when a Mr. Willeys was appointed to succeed him. He continued to act as Parish Clerk and Assistant Curate till the death of the aged and now incapacitated Robert Carr, in 1620.

In that year Archbishop Abbot selected as his successor one of whom he would seem to have had the highest opinion, named ROBERT BARRELL. His is the first appointment entered in the Lambeth Registers since the Suppression of the College; and there it appears under most auspicious circumstances. He is described as a man endowed with no ordinary gifts of preaching and expounding Scripture; and, as if in recognition of such great gifts and worth, the Archbishop makes a marked difference in the character of his appointment, as well as an important addition to the income. “The small portion of the Tything,” the entry runs, “being insufficient for a man of quality to serve soe great a Cure in soe populous a Town and Parish . . . I have set out, appointed, and allotted to the said Robert Barrell all the small yearly Tythes whatsoever, commonly called or known there by the name of Vicarige Tythes of the Boroughs or Townes of Weeke and Stone . . . in consideration only of his due serving of the Cure . . . untill I the said Archbishop shall think good otherwise to determine or revoke the said allotment or any part thereof at my good will and pleasure.”²

Robert Barrell, however, would seem to have been of a far less conciliatory, not to say compromising, spirit than his predecessor. It may be, too, that the very form of his appointment by the Archbishop tended in some degree to

¹ T. C. Smythe's M.S., vol. ii., p. 100 (in the Maidstone Museum).

² Archbishop Abbot's Register, f. 322, b.

rouse suspicion as to the independent line he was expected to adopt, and prepared the way for the persistent hostility he was destined to meet with.

From the outset he found himself confronted by claims on the part of the local authorities—a legacy doubtless left to him by the concessions which Carr had made—such as he felt unable to submit to. Hence his incumbency involved twenty years of parochial contention and strife. First of all, in spite of strong memorials and pressure, he refused to retain as Assistant Mr. Willey,¹ who for the last two years had been winning great popularity among the townsmen. Then he refused to accept and adopt the Table of Fees he found in use, which had been drawn up and sanctioned by the Town Council.² The next bone of contention was Mr. Barrell's claiming the right to appoint the Parish Clerk, in accordance with the 91st Canon of 1603, an office which the Corporation had, during Mr. Carr's incumbency, been accustomed to regard as belonging to their patronage. Then, last, and perhaps worst of all, Mr. Barrell refused to allow the Notice of the Burghmote Meetings to be publicly announced in the Church, a custom which had prevailed for many years.³

The writer retains a vivid recollection of a similar parochial stir in a County Town in the West of England within the last sixty years, when a newly appointed Vicar, with a devout sense of propriety, resisted the attempt on the part of the Corporation to have publicly notified month by month during the Service that on a certain day there would be held "a Meeting of the Trustees of the Pig-Market!"

Moreover, Barrell introduced changes in the mode of

¹ Burghmote Records of 1622.

² *Ibid.*, 1625.

³ *Ibid.*, 1634.

performing Divine Service,—all these combined to estrange from him the leading men of the place, who, in addition to such pastoral grievances, imputed to him gross personal irregularities, and formally petitioned Parliament for his removal. The Petition¹ represented that the said Robert Barrell was “careless and negligent of his duties;” that he introduced “innovacions, causing the Communion Table to be set up to the wall at the East end of the Chancel, and there to be railed in,” etc.; that he was “very covetous and contentious, exacting more and greater tithes and other duties (dues) than had been formerly paid;” that moreover he was a common “tavern hunter,” and “of evil example, and a great scandal of the mynistry, and he hath Curates under him of immoral character;” and that, as for Boughton Malherbe, of which he was also Rector, “he is not their (there) resident, but leaveth his people to a hireling.”²

This Petition was also followed up by one from the Inhabitants of Boughton Malherbe in the following month, denouncing the said Robert Barrell as “not having resided among them for twenty years, and putting Curates upon them unapt to teach and of corrupt doctrine,” as being “guilty of immorality and intolerance,” and therefore praying that they “may be eased of the heavy burden that Robert Barrell is upon them.”³

His delinquencies, it would seem, culminated in a Sermon he preached in April 1643; and an Order of Parliament was at length passed in June for the sequestration of both

¹ Two notables of the County, Sir T. Culpepper and Sir E. Dering, presented this Petition; see following note.

² Minutes of the House of Lords, May 17, 20, June 2, 17, 1643 (Historical MSS. Com. Report, V., p. 91).

³ *Ibid.*, and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part II., p. 202.

the Livings: and thus ceased Barrell's connection with Maidstone. The Parish Church, however, still retains a memorial of the heavy loss he sustained during the first year of his residence here in the death of his first wife.¹

At this time the "religious mind" of the nation was passing through those spasmodic emotions which preluded the introduction of "The Commonwealth." Having succeeded in bringing about Robert Barrell's removal, the inhabitants of Maidstone petitioned that one John Osborne, a reputed Boanerges, should be appointed; but he seems to have been considered worthy of a more remunerative post, and was better provided for by Cromwell's "Tryers" in the valuable benefice of Benenden,² which he held till after the Restoration; while Maidstone, to use the language of Walker, had "foisted"³ upon it one SAMUEL SMITH, who is described as a "holy and able man;" but clearly not of sufficient preaching power for the people of Maidstone. His was but a short stay; for within a few months, not to say weeks, he was transferred to Harrietsham, to make room for one who was regarded as more fitted for so important a post.

This was THOMAS WILSON,⁴ a man of considerable learning, and of great force of character; for both of which he soon became distinguished. He was born in 1601, the son of a Cumberland "estatesman," educated at Bentlow School, and afterwards passed with credit through Christ's College, Cambridge. First appointed to the Curacy of Capel in Surrey, he soon was moved to Farlington in Hampshire;

¹ The Epitaph is given in Chapter VII.

² Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, ii. 54.

³ *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 202.

⁴ The following details are mainly taken from *The Life of T. Wilson*, by G. S. (George Swinnoche), published in 1672, a copy of which is in the British Museum.

then to Teddington-on-Thames; and eventually, through the influence of a Maidstone Jurat named Swinnoche, who had obtained the right of appointment, to Otham, in order, as it was avowed, that his fellow-townsmen, to whom their own Curate, Robert Barrell, had become so objectionable, might "resort there with little trouble or travail to hear the Word of God."

Here he led an active yet peaceful life till the appearance of *The Book of Sports* in 1635, the refusal to publish which caused him to be suspended from his benefice for four years. In 1639 Archbishop Laud was moved to cancel his suspension, and he returned to Otham. But the following year a new difficulty arose. The Scots were marching upon England, and an order was issued for the reading of a Prayer in Church against them. This Wilson refused, on Rubrical grounds, to introduce into the Service, and was prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and had to seek personal safety in flight. But two years after—and momentous years they were, within which Lord Strafford had fallen, Charles himself had fled from London, Laud was in the Tower, and Parliament supreme—Wilson was selected by "the Commons House" to preach a Sermon before them at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the occasion of a "Solemne Fast" on the 28th November, 1642; and, probably as much in reward for his persecution as in recognition of his learning, was chosen by Parliament as one of "the Assembly of Divines." This Sermon, entitled *Jericho's Downfall*,¹ on Heb. xi. 30, was printed by the order of the House. Evidently the old wound of his wrongs still rankled in his

¹ A copy of this very scarce Sermon is in the possession of the present Rector of Otham, the Rev. F. M. Millard, and one in the British Museum.

breast; for he speaks most contemptuously of the Church, as "Prelacy, purple Prelates, and their corrupt Clergy;" and again seems as if he exulted over the Archbishop, at the time awaiting his trial, as having "come down when he was in his *Pontificalibus*." Another passage in this Sermon may be referred to as having a personal interest. Denouncing the many stumbling-blocks he thought he saw in the Church, he seems almost to shriek out, "Forget not the odious sin of non-residence!" Yet how circumstances alter cases! The following year he was appointed Curate of Maidstone by the combined influence of the friendly Jurat Swinnoche and Sir E. Dering, and here he took up his abode, leaving a substitute at Otham; thus becoming himself guilty of what he had so recently denounced as that "odious sin" of non-residence.

We would hope, however, for Wilson's credit, as well as his peace of mind, that he was not cognizant of the manner in which his substitute, Mr. Herne (or Heron), exercised his pastoral care for his zealous but non-resident Rector; for on the fly-leaf of the Otham Register is a Memorandum, vouched for by Thomas Davis, who succeeded Wilson at Otham (and subsequently at Maidstone), that "during all the time the said Mr. Herne served the Cure of Otham (from 1647 to 1658) there was neither Marriage, Chrysten-ing, or Buriall entered in the Otham Register."

Maidstone, however, for which it was considered Wilson's friends had so persistently intrigued, proved to be no bed of roses. He had zealously introduced more Services on Holy-days as well as Sundays, and week-day Lectures, and is said to have turned Maidstone from "being regarded as a very prophane town" into a God-fearing one. Tradition also ascribes to him the introduction of the historic hour-glass,

which testified to the length of his Sermons, while the overcrowded Church bore witness to their attractiveness.

Still the more advanced Independents complained that he did not go far enough for them—not to the full length of their extreme views; and, unfortunately for him, at their head was one Andrew Broughton, a Maidstone Attorney, who was one of the Clerks in the House of Parliament, on whom had devolved the, to him by no means unwelcome, task of reading out the King's sentence in Westminster Hall. There is a traditional¹ report that on the Sunday after the King's execution Wilson had, with manly courage, in his Sermon denounced the act as a foul and wicked murder. Broughton, who was present in Church, was so exasperated that he rose up and left, and headed a party of extreme fanatics who established a hostile Service in St. Faith's Church.

It may be that passing events had effected a change in Wilson's mind and feelings. It had been his sad lot to see the Church in which he delighted to minister desecrated by the fanatic troops under General Fairfax in 1648; and this perhaps, added to the absence of that personal bitterness he entertained for Laud, and to the sense of loyalty he still cherished in his heart for Charles, may account for any seeming inconsistency in the man who had borne witness against the Archbishop,² openly condemning the execution of the King.

Then, on the other hand, the Royalists, who, though few in number, were an influential body, and having the Churchwarden on their side, opposed many of the changes he introduced into the Church Services, to such an extent that Wilson was driven to appeal to that ruling body known—in bitter irony of truth—as the “Committee of Plundered

¹ Gilbert's *Memorials of All Saints', Maidstone*, p. 133.

² Prynne's *Canterburie's Doome*, p. 149.

Ministers." All this—notwithstanding the favour shown him by the Corporation, the freedom of the Town, and a substantial increase in his stipend being voted to him—appears to have deeply affected him; and the Thomas Wilson of Maidstone became in his later days, as the result of opposition and even persecution, greatly changed from the Thomas Wilson of Otham.

When drawing near his end, which occurred in 1653, his parishioners entreated him to recommend to them a successor, when he named JOHN CRUMPE, who had had charge of the Chapelry of Loose, and had also assisted him at Maidstone, and is described as being "a Godly and painful preacher of the Gospel."¹ He was the author of a series of sermons on "the Parable of the Great Supper," which was edited after his death by a brother Minister, one W. Gearing, who, in his Dedicatory Epistle to Sir John Banks of Ailesford, says of him, that "he was not only a word-man but a work-man—a workman that needed not to be ashamed; a pattern of wholesome words in sound teaching, a pattern of good works in well-doing," etc. So highly was he esteemed, that the stipend, even with the addition of £20 made to his predecessor, only amounting to £96, was further raised to £120, by the appropriation of £24 from the "Tythes of St. Gregory's Priory, Canterbury."² He held this Curacy (he is in one place called the "Rector") till the Restoration. Calamy says of him, that "he was of so moderate a spirit that after his ejection the Minister of Boxley often admitted him to his pulpit. He died and was buried at Maidstone, where his memory was precious."³

¹ Lambeth Misc. MSS. (Augmentation Records), No. 978, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, No. 987, p. 103; No. 997, p. 73.

³ Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, ii. 65

Meanwhile another office was being formed by "the Committee of Reformation of the Universities" under the title of a "Public Preacher" or "Lecturer," to which Thomas Bragne was appointed in 1651, at a salary of £50; and in 1656, on Mr. Bragne's death, Joseph Whiston, who was also Master of the Grammar School, succeeded; but was ejected at the Restoration, and retired to Lewes, where he formed a Congregational charge, and died there in 1690, at the age of sixty-three, leaving behind him a character for great wisdom, moderation, and self-denial.¹ He was the author of several works on Infant Baptism.

Neither of these would come under the name of *Curate*.

With the Restoration came the counter-move in Church patronage; and in how different a spirit was it carried out! On Queen Mary's coming to the throne, every one who refused to accept the Romish test lost his life at the stake; when Elizabeth succeeded, all who refused to accede to the Reformed faith, in spite of great persuasion and clemency, forfeited their livings only. Again, when at the Rebellion Parliament became supreme, almost every one who held a benefice was summarily ejected; while at the Restoration even those who had been "intruded," to the exclusion of the previous lawful occupants, were left in peaceful possession on accepting the Act of Uniformity; and only those who refused were removed. Among the latter was John Crumpe.

On his removal Archbishop Juxon selected JOHN DAVIS, already Rector of Otham (where he had followed Wilson on his death in 1653), for the Curacy of Maidstone. Here Davis seems to have left but little mark of his presence during his brief tenure of the Cure, which he held with the

¹ Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, ii. 64.

Rectory of Otham till his death in 1677. In Otham, however, he left a very substantial proof of his residence in the old-fashioned yet comfortable Rectory House; as is testified by a boldly cut Inscription on a massive beam which runs across the kitchen: "THIS HOUS WAS BUILT BY JOHN DAVIS, RECTOR OF OTHAM, 1664 A.C."¹ He was buried in Maidstone, where an Epitaph² to his memory would lead to the inference that, though the outer world of literature or politics knew little of him (for nothing seems on record), he laboured hard and successfully in his parish during years of reactionary excitement to preserve peace and goodwill, and thus secured the respect and confidence of all classes during his short incumbency.

After him HUMPHRY LYNDE held the Curacy, in conjunction with the Vicarage of Boxley. Of him very little seems on record. He was probably the youngest son of the Humphry Lynde who—Archbishop Laud's Chaplain refusing to license a Treatise of his against Rome—became a very bitter opponent, and brought a considerable amount of learning, with an intensity of Puritan zeal, to bear upon the Pamphlet literature of the days of the Commonwealth.³ This Humphry Lynde would appear to have inherited his father's zeal, but to have directed it into a different channel; for Archbishop Sancroft, in recognition of his zealous and faithful ministrations, bestowed on the Curacy the second moiety of the Small Tithes of Week and Stone Boroughs, of which one-

¹ This Inscription long lay unknown, smothered in plaster and whitewash, until brought to light by the present Rector, the Rev. F. M. Millard, to whom the writer is indebted for the information regarding it, and the entry made by Davis in the Register Book regarding Heron's negligence. (See p. 125.)

² See Epitaph in Chapter VII.

³ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. 601. *Canterburie's Doome*, p. 185.

half had been previously given. He died in 1690, and was succeeded by EDWARD ROMAN, who held the Curacy for a still shorter period, dying within two years of his appointment.

The vacancy thus caused in 1692 was filled by Archbishop Tillotson by the transfer of GILBERT INNES from the smaller Parish of Chislet to this far more important Cure, where he was compensated for the loss of income by being collated also to the Vicarage of St. John, Isle of Thanet. Here, as well as at Chislet, he won the affection and respect of his people. His Incumbency was evidently a peaceful one; it was marked by an increase in the scant stipend, which he effected by recovering the Small Tithes of the outlying Hamlet of Lollington, that had been for some time withheld. He was also active in rearranging the accommodation of the Church, which had been greatly intrenched upon by the erection of family pews.¹ This delicate negotiation he appears to have superintended and carried out successfully without arousing any ill-will. Newton says of him, that "he discharged all the duties of this great and populous Parish for nineteen years, when he sank under the care and burden of it"²—a testimony which is fully confirmed by the Epitaph on his Monument, clearly pointing him out as a most *laborious* Parish-Priest.³ He died in May 1711.

In Gilbert Innes' Successor, JOSIAH WOODWARD, appears one who evidently occupied a conspicuous position in the literary world, as a prolific author of Treatises and Pamphlets, all indicating an active pastoral zeal.⁴ He was first known as

¹ Burghmote Records, given in Gilbert's *Memorials*, etc., pp. 159-167.

² Newton's *History*, etc., p. 69. ³ See Epitaph in Chapter VII.

⁴ The British Museum Catalogue contains entries of above thirty Pamphlets, Sermons, etc., under his name, and a "Life" of him, from which the following facts are taken.

Curate of Poplar, a Chapelry of Stepney, where, in 1702 he published among other tracts *Pastoral Advice on Confirmation*, on the *Observance of the Lord's Day*, on *Drunkennes*, on *Profane Swearing*, and "*A Seamen's Monitor*," which would seem to have run into a 14th Edition within the Century. The fame of his powers, and of his largeness of sympathy, soon reached the Continent, for he was earnestly appealed to by the Pastors and Professors of Neufchatel "for God's sake and for the honour of the Church of England" to publish in an English form a "Letter which their Brethren of Geneva and Basil in conjunction with themselves had addressed to the King of Prussia entreating him to promote an intercommunion between them and the English Church." As a preacher, too, he must have risen to a high position (many of his Sermons having appeared in print); for Archbishop Tenison, himself a great preacher and scholar, selected him to preach the "Boyle Lectures" in 1710; and the following year transferred him to Maidstone, where, securing his valuable gifts for a wider field, he compensated him for the scantiness of his income by giving him also the living of Newchurch, in Romney Marsh. Here he readily adapted himself to the fresh sphere of duty. Poplar with its river-side population had (as he had mentioned) suggested a *Seamen's Monitor*, and Maidstone with its military called forth a corresponding one for *Soldiers*. But his connection with Maidstone was very brief. One of his first Sermons here was a bold, powerful one on the "Divine Right of Civil Government," preached before the (newly elected) Mayor, and Corporation, in November 1711, and before that Mayoralty had expired he had passed away. While at Poplar he had taken an active part in forming a "Society for the Reformation of Manners

in London"—the nucleus of the now Venerable "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." As early as 1700 he had preached a Sermon at St. Botolph's Church on "The Great Charity of Instructing Poor Children," and found time during his all too brief sojourn in Maidstone to carry his principles into practice by founding "The Blue Coat School" here, happily a still standing memorial of his pastoral zeal. He died in 1712, at the comparatively early age of fifty-two, leaving behind him this testimony to his love of God and of his fellow-men.

He was succeeded by SAMUEL WELLER, LL.B., a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, who had been assistant to Dr. Woodward during his short incumbency; who also succeeded him in the Rectory of Newchurch, to which Archbishop Wake in 1731 added that of Sundridge, near Sevenoaks.¹ His occupancy of this Curacy, which lasted above forty years, was chiefly memorable for the enlargement, if not the actual formation, of the once far-famed Parish Library. That Royal benefactress to the Church, Queen Anne, had in 1704 obtained the passing of an Act in Parliament to meet the great lack of books of Theology for the Clergy, which as a rule they were too poor to purchase for themselves, by sanctioning a grant of money for that purpose. In the movement thus inaugurated Maidstone took an active part. Several of the resident gentry gave books; and when an opportunity offered of obtaining for £50 the whole "Library of the Fathers" of that great Student and Philanthropist, Dr. Bray, who had been Rector of St. Botolph's, London, a subscription was opened and the appeal so liberally responded to that the Parish Church soon possessed one of the largest and richest of the Parochial

¹ Archbishop Wake's Register, f. 262, b.

Libraries of England. But it fared worse with this memento of Weller's zeal than it has done with his predecessor's School. For early in the present Century the state of this goodly Library is thus described: "I found many valuable books missing; and a still larger number irretrievably damaged by the incursions of worms and damp; of these I caused some few to be re-bound, but the greater part were far too decayed to be at all re-covered." Such is the memo entered by "Robert Finch," Dr. Denne's assistant, in 1810, in the fly-leaf of the Catalogue of the Library preserved in the Maidstone Museum, where are also now carefully shelved the remains of the grand old Library—enough to show what a noble collection of choice and almost priceless literature it once formed.

The only other noteworthy events in Weller's time were the destruction of the Spire by fire (to be mentioned in a subsequent Chapter), the introduction of an Organ into the Church, and the re-casting of the Bells; unless we notice a somewhat curious entry which appears in a small Memorandum Book preserved in the Vestry, among the Parish Registers, which gives some insight into the funeral customs of the reign of the first George. It is to the following effect:

"At a Vestry held 20 June, 1722, Resolved: That whereas an unreasonable custom has prevailed of deferring Funerals till very late in the night to the damage of the Trade of the Town and to the great inconvenience of the Inhabitants, That therefore for the time to come any person or persons having the care of Funerals shall be obliged to bring their dead to the Church or Churchyard before the hour of ten of the clock from Lady-day till Michaelmas, and before the hour of seven of the clock from Michaelmas to

Lady-day, and in case any person shall break the said order by delaying their Funeral beyond the said hours, that then Mr. Weller shall be and is hereby desired to refuse to read the Burial Service after the said hours."

After Samuel Weller came one who was a worthy representative of an old Kentish family, JOHN DENNE, M.A., the eldest son of Archdeacon Denne (of Rochester), and brother of the distinguished Antiquary Doctor Samuel Denne, Rector of Lambeth. He had been a Fellow of Bene't (Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge. And was appointed to All Saints, Maidstone, by Archbishop Herring in 1753, and the following year by the Crown to the Rectory of Copford, in Essex. He was also imbued with some of his brother's Antiquarian spirit, as was shown in his endeavour to solve the doubt as to the real burial-place of Archbishop Courtenay, by having the massive monumental slab raised, which was believed to mark his grave in the Choir of the Church, and the ground underneath carefully examined; the result being that some of the leading Antiquaries of the day were induced to admit that Maidstone, and not Canterbury, held the bones of him who was pre-eminently "Maidstone's Archbishop."¹

As Curate of the Parish Church he also acted as Chaplain of the Gaol; and there two Italian convicts under sentence of death contrived, the very day before that fixed for their execution, and while Mr. Denne was actually in attendance upon them, to break out, stab the gaoler, and put Denne's life into great peril. The fright, and the narrowness of his escape, produced a long-life effect on him; for the last thirty-five years of his life he was subject at seasons to great mental

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. x., pp. 272-3. Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*. See also *supra*, p. 44, and Appendix B (2).

distress. He died in the Palace in 1800, at the age of seventy-four years.¹

His successor, JAMES REEVE, M.A., had been his Curate since 1788, when he literally impersonated Goldsmith's picture of the "Parson passing rich on £40 a year;" for such was his stipend. His placid countenance, as represented in the portrait of him preserved in the Museum, would betoken a peace-loving, easy-going, methodical mind; and his Incumbency, as described by old inhabitants who still remember him, was naturally an uneventful one, save that when in advancing age and the increase of the population he found it necessary to have the assistance of a Curate he gave him £100 a year, and that he was instrumental in the erection of the first District Church (Holy Trinity) in 1828, with which his widow's name is also connected, by her bequest of the very conveniently situated house in King Street, now at last used as "Holy Trinity Vicarage." During his time, too, additional Church accommodation was provided at the other end of the town, through the zeal and Antiquarian spirit of another Curate, Frederick Fitzherbert Haslewood, who, lamenting the desecrated condition of a beautiful ruin (for it was little better) which had once been the Chapel of Archbishop Boniface's "Hospital," and commonly known as the "Pilgrim's Chapel," resolved to utilize it and restore it to its sacred use. He had come to the Curacy in 1834; and in three years the exquisite Chancel, with its deep-splayed lancet windows and graceful Purbeck marble shafts, had been brought to light and cleaned; while a transept (not, however, worthy of such a Chancel) was thrown out; and thus at a cost of about £4,000, with accom-

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxv., p. 392; and vol. lxx., p. 396. Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iii., p. 527.

modation for above four hundred persons, the Church of St. Peter was first licensed for Divine Service in 1837, and two years after re-consecrated by Archbishop Howley. Then, in the last year of Mr. Reeve's Incumbency, St. Stephen's Church at Tovil was built.¹

On his death in 1842, Archbishop Howley appointed WILLIAM VALLANCE, M.A., who at once inaugurated a great change in the internal arrangements of the Church. The Galleries which had disfigured the Aisles and West end disappeared; cumbrous—if comfortable—family pews, which occupied the body of the Church, were all cleared out to give place to more ecclesiastical uniform seats, designed for worship rather than luxurious slumber; and the whole floor of the Church was arranged for the use of the Parish generally, and not exclusively for a few favoured Magnates. This work of improvement, however, from lack of funds, did not extend to the roofs, which were left with unsightly whitewashed ceilings. The whole character of the Church Services, too, underwent a great change, advancing with the religious feelings and demands of the times; while the material proof of his energy and the largeness of his views may be seen in the spacious (some say, over-spacious) Vicarage he was instrumental in erecting.

It falls to the lot of very few men to introduce important changes in the fabric or in the Services of a Church without wounding some susceptibilities, arousing some regrets, or interfering with some personal predilections, or supposed vested rights. William Vallance was not one of that fortunate few. The changes he had initiated caused in some quarters

¹ The public observance of his Pastoral "Jubilee," in 1838—twelve years as Curate, and thirty-eight years as Incumbent—is duly noted in the local papers of that date.

considerable heart-burnings ; so when his work of restoration, so far as he was able to carry it out, was finished, he asked to be transferred to some other sphere of duty, leaving all the good he had endeavoured to do to be carried on—or perhaps to be undone—by a successor.

On his retirement, Archbishop Sumner, in 1854, appointed DAVID DALE STEWART, M.A., whose personal energy for twenty-four years is gratefully remembered. In his time there were to be seen no less than four District Churches—St. Philip's in 1858, St. Paul's in 1861, St. Faith's in 1872, and St. Michael's in 1876—through the liberality of Maidstone Churchmen, rising up one after another to meet the rapidly increasing demands of the growing population.

During his Incumbency an Act of Parliament was passed (in 1869) sanctioning the title of "Vicar" being taken by all Perpetual Curates, and from that date the Incumbents of Maidstone have been called "VICARS."

On Mr. Stewart's removal in 1878 by Archbishop Tait to the more valuable living of Coulsdon, in the Diocese of Rochester, THOMAS DEALTRY, M.A., previously Archdeacon of Madras, was appointed to the Vicarage of Maidstone, which he held only for a little over four years.

Of the affection with which the Parish regarded him, and their appreciation of his ministrations, it is enough to say that it found expression in the general desire to honour his memory, not only by completing the yet unfinished work begun by Mr. Vallance thirty years before in the restoration of their noble Church, but also by making that restoration worthy of Him Whose "House of Prayer" it was, of their late Pastor, and of themselves. The carrying out of this grand design, under the skilled eye of the distinguished Architect J. L. Pearson, R.A., devolved upon Mr. Dealtry's successor,

EDWIN FRANCIS DYKE, M.A., whom the Lord Chancellor (Lord Selborne), the See being vacant on the death of Archbishop Tait, selected to occupy this important post, which he at present ably fills.

A better close to this series of Chapters on the building itself and its successive Clergy cannot be found than in the opening words of the Inscription which testifies to the feelings of the Parish for their late Vicar, and their appreciation of their own goodly Parish Church.

TO THE GLORY OF GOD,

And in remembrance of manifold blessings vouchsafed to the
People of Maidstone,

THIS COLLEGIATE AND PAROCHIAL CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS
WAS RESTORED IN THE YEAR OF GRACE 1885.

The Roof of the Nave was erected
to the Memory of THOMAS DEALTRY, M.A.,

Formerly Archdeacon of Madras, and Vicar of Maidstone from
1878 to 1882 ;

and of HARRIET his wife,

As a token of the esteem and affectionate regard of Parishioners and
Friends.

It may be well to insert here a List of the Clergy who have been connected with this Church, whether as Rectors, Masters, Curates, or Vicars, as given in the preceding Chapter.

1205.—William de Cornhull	Rector.
1241.—John Mansell	„
1268.—Thomas Corbridge	„
1279.—Ralph de Forneham	„
1287.—Nicholas de Knoville	„
1310.—Stephen de Haslingfelde	„
N. D.—Guido de la Valle	„
N. D.—Anibaldus de Ceccano	„
1350.—Hugo de Pelegrini	„
1377.—Robert Sibthorp	„
1390.—William Tyrington	„
1392.—Guido de Mone	„
1395.—John Wotton, D.D.	Master of the College.
1417.—John Holond, or Holand	„
1419.—Roger Heron	„
1441.—John Drewell, or Darwell	„
1444.—Peter Stuckley, LL.B.	„
1450.—Robert Smyth	„
1458.—Thomas Boleyn, LL.D.	„
N. D.—John Freston, M.A.	„
1475.—John Lee, D.D.	„
1495.—John Camberton	„
1507.—William Grocyn, D.D.	„
1519.—John Penynton, M.A.	„

1519.—John Leefe, D.C.L.	Master of the College.
1547.—John Porter, M.A.	Parish Priest.
¹ 1559.—Robert Carr	Archbishop's Curate.
1620.—Robert Barrell, M.A.	„
1643.—Samuel Smith	Intruded.
1644.—Thomas Wilson	„
1654.—John Crumpe	„
1661.—John Davis, M.A.	Archbishop's Curate.
1677.—Humphry Lynde, M.A.	„
1687.—Edward Ronan, or Roman, M.A.	„
1692.—Gilbert Innes, M.A.	„
1711.—Josiah Woodward, S.T.P.	„
1712.—Samuel Weller, LL.B.	„
1753.—John Denne, M.A.	Perpetual Curate.
1800.—James Reeve, M.A.	„
1842.—William Vallance, M.A.	„
1854.—David Dale Stewart, M.A.	Vicar.
1878.—Thomas Dealtry, M.A.	„
1883.—Edwin Francis Dyke, M.A.	„

¹ The names of Richard Auger and John Day appear as *Assistant Curates* during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. See p. 115.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MONUMENTS.



AIDSTONE has certainly experienced its full share of the ignorant, and often wanton, spoliation of those mementos of departed worth and tokens of affection which, alas! throughout the country has been perpetrated under the melancholy misnomer of "Church Restoration."

What a loss not only family genealogies, but even National History, must have suffered under such ruthless destruction it is impossible to calculate or conjecture! Those records graven in stone, long anterior to the existence of Parish Registers, which would have borne generally reliable testimony to the worth of individuals, or the greatness of families, who filled no ignoble position in the Annals of the country, are now for ever lost! Not only must this deplorable demolition be charged on the mad and frenzied iconoclasm of the Puritan zeal, which saw "the mark of the beast" in every stained-glass window with its holy lessons, and superstitious vanity in every effigy in brass with which a pious mourner had adorned the tomb of some loved and honoured kinsman—no! there is no need to go back so far in history, to times such as those. Modern utilitarian ardour of this enlightened 19th Century is chargeable with its

participation in this work of destruction as well as the misguided so-called religion in the 17th.

Turn from Hamlet's melancholy reflection over the possibility of the noble dust of Alexander being converted into a "bung-cork," or that of Imperial Cæsar "stopping a hole to keep the wind away,"¹ and think with what feelings some old Kentish family, whose ancestral affection finds its centering-point in Maidstone, would hear that the once richly emblazoned, or deeply engraved and ornamented, monumental slab of a forefather's grave had—ay, within the present Century—with arms and inscription laboriously obliterated and chiselled out, been utilized (*horribile dictu*) to supply economical partitions for a "Parish pigsty!"² Or how would one of the Municipal dignitaries of to-day contemplate the possibility of his tombstone in some future day sharing the fate of that of a civic predecessor which was actually used as "a paving stone in Watery Lane"—an indignity even greater than that of the scores which, utterly irrespective of their proper graves, now serve as pavements in the Churchyard paths.³

Such Vandalisms have been perpetrated in this town, and that within the enlightened 19th Century! Indeed, in the recent work of restoration, though the upper portions of the Church have been so nobly beautified, the pavements bear sad marks of the utilitarian spirit. Let us take only one instance; where a massive slab that once indicated the grave of one of the Broughtons, (a family,

¹ *Hamlet*, Act V., Scene 1.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxix. (1819), p. 232. The following anecdote, recorded here, is worth preserving, as the record of a visit to Maidstone: "A friend who was lately examining the monument of Woodville was informed by a person present that it was always kept in good and clean order, for he remembered putting nine coats of whitewash over it."

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xcii. (1822), p. 603.

as will appear, of no insignificant origin and alliances,) has been so placed that, while the upper portion containing the family arms and crest boldly engraved serves as part of the second step to the Communion rails, the inscription is wholly buried under the step above it, and all means of identifying it would have been lost but for a chance note among Clement T. Smythe's MSS., preserved in the Maidstone Museum.

Having in Chapter II. spoken of the three oldest Monuments, those of Archbishop Courtenay, Sir Richard Woodville, and Dr. Wotton¹ which as Altar-Tombs were most conspicuous, and formed to some extent part of the structural features of the building, we would now pass on to give some account of the other Monuments and Tablets which still appear on the piers and walls, and some few on the pavements, of the Church; taking them, as far as possible, in chronological order rather than according to their position in the building; so many of which have a special interest attaching to them, either as connected with families still remaining in the town or neighbourhood, or as illustrating by distinguished examples the past history of the place.

Foremost among them, both for its age and also for its character—so rare, if not unique—is the one to the Beale family, and it has an additional claim to notice inasmuch as that old Maidstone family, of which some of the descendants still reside in the town, produced a direct representative in the person of the late Rev. Beale Poste, whose name and highly valuable work on “All Saints’ College” have been so frequently referred to in these pages. This Tablet supplies also a connecting link with an ancestry who held an honourable place here at least five hundred years ago, contemporary with Archbishop Courtenay himself.

¹ Pages 32-48.

Inserted in the South-east face of the graceful column which separates the South Aisle of the Chancel from the Choir proper is an engraved plate of copper, thirty inches long and eighteen wide, containing a genealogy of six generations (the designer of it himself representing the seventh), and covering a period of considerably over two Centuries. It is divided into six spaces, each representing a generation, and each space again divided into three compartments, the central one containing figures of the parents; the Christian name of the wife (or of the wives where there had been two) being given, and also the relationship of the husband to the descendant who had erected it; the left compartment gives in each case the sons, with the name of the one who succeeded to the family honours, and in the right the daughters; all in kneeling postures. In the first and third spaces on the right side, there being apparently no daughter to commemorate, short sentences in Latin are introduced: in the first, "*Ærumnarum requies Mors*" (Death is repose from cares); and in the third, "*Non potest male mori qui bene vixerit*" (That man's death cannot be bad whose life has been good); while in the fourth, behind the kneeling figure of a single daughter, is a coffin, or Altar-Tomb, surmounted by a conspicuous "death's-head and cross-bones," emblematic, it may be, of an early death.

At the foot of this series of family pictures are a few short sentences in Latin, of which the following may serve as translations, with a long explanatory inscription below, also in Latin:—

"Mors depositio sarcinæ gravis."
(Death is the laying down of a heavy load.)

"Mors perfectæ securitatis ingressus."
(Death is the entering into perfect freedom from care.)



INK PHOTO, SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

ALL SAINTS', MAIDSTONE.—THE BEALE MONUMENT.

“Lectori.”

(To the reader.)

“Etsi pietas pro defunctis flere jubeat,
Fides tamen pro eis lugere vetat.”

(Even though affection bids us shed tears for the faithful dead,
Yet faith forbids us to mourn for them.)

“Thomas Beale trinepos Johannis Beale tritavi sui bis Major hujus ville, Deo et | Regi vivens supplex, frugali vita sua sorte contentus, vicinis charus, et boni publici | hujus ville studiosus, duarum uxorum maritus, et ex illis xxi liberorum pater, obiit ij die | Februarii Ao. 1593, & filios sex, filiasque duas reliquit. Cujus Pater Willelmus Beale nuper bis | Portgrevius istius ville, egentibus ejusdem sua ætate subveniens, obiit Ao. 1534. Cujus | Avus Robertus vivens hac villa Ao. 1490. Proavus Johannes, Ao. 1461. Atavus Willelmus, Ao. 1429, | sua ætate etiam Portgrevius, et unus de primis fratribus Domus Fraternitatis hujus | ville, postea sepultus in Ecclesia Sti (sic) Fidei; et Johannes ejus tritavus Ao. 1399, hic etiam obiit. | Viventes hic etiam bene merentes hic etiam morientes modo resurrectionem | carnis in adventu Christi expectant. Quorum posteritati benedicat Deus. Quorum memoria | Thomas filius dicti Thome hoc monumentum construit.”

“Thomas Beale, thrice grandson¹ of John Beale his great-grandfather's great-grandfather, twice Mayor of this town, humbly loyal to God and the King, of frugal and contented spirit, beloved by his neighbours, and studying the good of this town, the husband of two wives, and the father of twenty-one children, died February 2nd, 1593, and left surviving six sons and two daughters. Whose father William Beale, lately Portreve of that town, who succoured its needy in his time, died in the year 1534; whose grandfather, Robert, lived in this town, and died in 1490. His great-grandfather, John, in 1461. His great-great-grandfather, William, in 1429, having also in his time been Portreve, and one of the first of the Brethren of the Fraternity (of Corpus Christi) in this town, was buried in the Church of St. Faith. And John, his great-great-great-grandfather, also died in the year 1399. Here

¹ Through three sets of generations a grandson.

they lived, earning a good report ; here too, dying, look for the resurrection of the flesh at the advent of Christ. May God's blessing rest on their posterity. Thomas, the son of the said Thomas, erects this monument to their memory."

The appended Genealogical Table may better explain the line of family descent in the reverse order.

John Beale (his wife's name not given) died in 1399.

William (one of the Brotherhood), m. Katherine, d. 1429.

John, m. Agnes, and Alicia, d. 1461.

Robert, m. Agnes, d. 1490.

William (twice Portreve), m. Johanna, d. 1534.

Thomas (twice Mayor), m. Johanna Cobb, and Alicia Wolgate, d. 1593.

Thomas, his son, who erected this monument.

The next in point of age is the one known as the "Tufton Tablet." It stands in close proximity to that of the Beale family, being on the North-east face of the same Chancel pier. It consists of a plain black slab of marble, enclosed in a grey border, without a pretence to ornament beyond a shield on the top, bearing the arms of Tufton (*sable*, an eagle displayed, *ermine*, within a bordure, *argent*), impaling those of Morley of Glynd (*sable*, three leopards' faces, *or*; jessant-de-lis, *argent*). This tablet, like the more conspicuous Monuments of the Astleys and Knatchbulls, differs widely from the preceding one. These are memorials of families that had but a brief connection with the town, and of which all representatives have long since disappeared from the locality ; while that of the Beales, as already mentioned, tells the tale of a family which has held close and honourable connection with Maidstone for at least five Centuries.

The Tuftons only became residents of Maidstone when,

early in the 17th Century, Sir Humphry, who was a younger brother of Nicholas, the first Earl of Thanet, bought the Mote of the Cæsar family; which, before its close, his grandson sold again to Sir Robert Marsham. Soon after coming here Sir Humphry Tufton lost three children—two daughters in their infancy, in 1635 and 1641; and in 1641 his eldest son, when just twenty years of age. His death was the occasion of the laudatory inscription on this Tablet, in which are set forth in parental affection all the gifts and graces of this flower of the family thus nipped in the bud, with a supplementary display of all the lordly alliances which Sir Humphry and his father and grandfather had formed, tracing back each female acquisition to the family through four or five generations up to the leading nobles of the land.

The lengthy Inscription runs thus:—

“Next unto the Tombe of the Fownder of this Church on the South syde thereof lye the bodies of Humphry Tufton, Esq., Christian Tufton and Cicelie Tufton, his Sisters. Which said Humphry Tufton was the eldest Sonne of Sir Humphry Tufton of the Mote in this Parish, Knt. and Baronet, by Margaret his wife, eldest daughter, and one of the Co-heirs of Harbert Morley of Gline in Sussex, Esq., by Ann his wife, eldest daughter unto Sampson Leonard of Kent, Esq., by Margaret his wife, daughter and heir unto Thomas Fines, Lord Dacres of the South¹; who married Mary, daughter of George, Lord Abergaveny, by the Lady Mary his wife, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

“And the said Sir Humphry Tufton was the second son of Sir John Tufton of Hothfeild in Kent, Knt. and Baronet, and Christian his wife, daughter and one of the Co-heirs of Sir Humphry Browne of Essex, and Anne his wife,

¹ So called to distinguish them from the other branch, who held the family property in Cumberland, and were known as “Lords Dacre of the North” (Collins' *English Peerage*, where the whole circumstances are explained).

sister unto Bridget, Countess of Bedford, the daughters of John Lord Hussye and the Lady Anne Grey his wife, daughter unto George Grey, Earl of Kent, by the Lady Katherine, daughter of William Harbert, Earle of Pembroke ; the Grandmother of which George was the Lady Constance, daughter unto John Holland, Earle of Huntingdon and Duke of Lancaster, by the Lady Elizabeth, daughter unto John of Gaunte, Duke of Lancaster, by the Lady Blanche, and brother by the same father and mother to Sir Nicholas Tufton, the first Baron of Tufton in Northian in Sussex, and Earle of Thanet in Kent, and unto Cicely, Countess of Rutland, of Francis, Earle of Rutland, and unto Mary, Viscountess of Dunbar, wife of Sir Henry Constable, Vicount (*sic*) of Dunbar.

“ And the said Sir John Tufton was the sonne of John Tufton of Tufton in Northian in Sussex, Esq., sometimes High Sheriff of County of Kent, and Mary his wife, eldest daughter of Sir John Baker of Sussinghearst in Kent, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and heire unto Thomas Dingley of Hampshire, Esq. Which Sir John Baker was of the Privy-Counsel unto King Henry the 8th, King Edward the 6th, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth : which said Mary had two sisters, one married unto Sir Thomas Sackville, Earle of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England, and the other unto Sir Thomas Scott of Scott’s Hall in Kent.

“ And the said John Tufton was the sonne of Nicholas Tufton of Tufton in Northian in Sussex, Esq., by Margaret his wife, daughter and heire of John Hever in Kent, Esq., as by their Coate of Arms heere quartered by the Tuftons appeareth. In which place their auntient seate in the name Tuftons did long before continue.

“ And as concerning the said Humphry Tufton, Hee by his soundness of Religion and his discrete carriage, to the Glory of himselfe and Honor of his name gayned in his tender years far beyond the expectation of his age, most affectionat love from his parents, opinion of all hopefulness from his countrey, great joy and delight from all his acquaintance, and by the sweetness of his disposition, comliness of person and curtesy unto all, with the many qualities both of mind and body wherewith his travells had enriched him, justly deserved to bee accounted the Darling both of nature and education.

To face page 149.



INK-PHOTO, SPRAGUE & CO LONDON.

THE ASTLEY MONUMENT.

He exchanged this life for the Celestiall, where his blessed soul liveth in joyes everlasting ; although his losse here unto his parents was unspeakable, and the grieve as greate unto all that did know him.

“Obiit 3 Aug. 1641, ætat. 20.

“He was a true lover of the Inhabitants of this Towne and Parish, and had at the time of his death living 4 brothers, viz., Sir John Tufton his second brother, Knighted shortly after his death, Charles Tufton, Frauncis and Henry Tufton, and 3 sisters, viz., Christiaⁿ Tufton, Olimpha Tufton, and Cicely Tufton. The said Christian Tufton obiit 14 die Augusti 1641, ætatis suæ decimo quarto, being a handsome and hopefull, a good and a vertuous gentle woman.

“And Cicely obiit 3 die Februarii 1635, ætatis suæ tertio.

“This was erected Anno 1642.”

These three appear to have been the only members of the Tufton family buried in this Church ; Sir Humphry himself withdrew to Bobbing Place, near Sittingbourne, where he and two younger sons, Charles and Francis, were buried in that Parish Church, and where Monuments of similar character appear. His father, Sir John, was buried at Hothfield in 1624, and his grandfather, Sir Nicholas, at Northian, in 1538.

Then come in a group four conspicuous Monuments of the Astley family, which, as already mentioned,¹ were originally obtruded inside the Altar rails, to the grievous disfigurement and injury of the beautiful Sedilia, as the mutilated state of their Canopies still shows. These were happily removed during the recent alterations, and placed against the West wall, to their own advantage, and far more to that of the Chancel.

Of these the first to be noticed is a colossal one of grey alabaster, rising to the height of twenty feet from the floor.

¹ Page 51.

It consists of two parts or stages, each containing a couple of life-size figures, representing two generations. In the upper stage appears John Astley, the first of the family to find a home at Maidstone, whose singular career at the Court of Queen Elizabeth demands some notice. He was descended from the Sir Thomas Astley, Lord of Estleigh (from whence the name is supposed to be taken), who was slain in the Battle of Evesham in 1265, fighting for the Barons. His mother's sister, Elizabeth Wode (or Wood), having married Sir James, the brother of Sir Thomas Boleyn, became the mother of Anne Boleyn, and therefore the grandmother of Elizabeth. The Queen, acknowledging the cousinly kinship, took him early into her household, where his intelligence and accomplishments brought him to the notice and friendship of Roger Ascham, the Mentor of his day, an advantage he improved by marrying Katherine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernowne, who had been governess to the Princess, and was one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Queen.¹ Thus he rose in favour with Elizabeth, who in 1558 appointed him Master of the Jewel House, and one of the Grooms of the Chamber. Then in 1568 she conferred on him the grant of Allington Castle, which on Sir Thomas Wyatt's attainder had reverted to the Crown. Soon after she gave him also the Palace at Maidstone, and thus brought him into connection with the town, which he represented in the Parliaments of 1586 and 1588. His second marriage with Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Lord Grey, brother of the Marquis of Dorset, still further strengthened his position at Court. Nor be it forgotten that he possessed a valuable accomplishment which doubtless stood him in good stead with the Queen: he was an authority on horses and horse-

¹ T. Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope*, pp. 81, 100.

manship, and published in 1585 a work on *The Art of Riding*.¹ What qualification he had for another appointment it is not easy to say, but in 1571 he had been selected by the Queen "to attend the Archbishop of Canterbury" on an inquiry "touching matters of Religion."²

He died in 1595. He is represented on the upper stage of this Monument, with his second wife by his side, each in an arched recess. On either side projects at right angles a marble flange or wing, containing an Inscription.

That on the left (at his side) is as follows:—

"The Right worshipfull John Astley, Esquire, descended
from the truly awntient and honorable family
of the Lord Astley, the Capitall seat of
whose Barony was at Astley Castell in
Warwickshire, and with commendable regard
to the splendour of his birth and descent.
He made a noble paralel (*sic*) with his most
pious life and signall vertues.
He was justly acknowledged to be alyed
to the most illustrious Princess Queen³
Elizabeth (by her mother's kindred), who
advanced him to places of principal repute
in Court services, being prime
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and
Master of her Royal Jewels and Plate
thirty-seven years, and in other relations
before he had those places, from his
age of twelve yeares.
Anno Mortis
Ætatis 89."

¹ This appeared anonymously, as "By a Gentleman of great skill and long experience in the Art." His proficiency in this may account for his being appointed on Committees "to pass horses for the Army" (State Papers, Domestic, 1574, p. 487).

² Strype's *Annals* (1824), vol. ii., Part I., p. 708.

³ This relationship is explained above.

On the right wing is the following Inscription :—

“Margaret Grey, wife of the said John Astley, Esq., was daughter of Thomas Grey, branched out of the Right Hon’ble house of the Greys, Duke of Suffolke, Marques Dorcett (*sic*), Baron of Groby, Harrington, Bonville, and Astley. For the Heire Generall of the last Baron Astley was married to Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and so the Title and Armes of the Barony of Astley remayned in the Greys. She left issue one sonne, Sir John Astley, and three daughters, Margaret married to Anthony Nevile of Nottinghamsh., Esq. ; Bridgett married to Sir Norton Knatchbull of Mersham in Kent ; and Eleanor married to Thomas Knatchbull of Maydston, brother to Sir Norton Knatchbull.”

The lower portion of this Monument also contains two figures of life size, and draped, like those above, in loose shrouds, representing this son, Sir John Astley, and his wife Katherine Bridges, whose descent and virtues are fully recorded in the Epitaph which is placed between them, while their arms are duly portrayed on the shield which surmounts it ; that of the Astleys quarterly, 1 and 4, *azure*, a cinquefoil, *ermine*, within a bordure engrailed, *or* ; 2 and 3, *argent*, a lion rampant, *gules*, ducally crowned, *or* ; impaling, *argent*, on a cross, *sable*, a leopard’s face, *or*, for Bridges : each surmounted by its crest ; out of a ducal coronet, *or*, a plume of five feathers, for Astley ; and out of a ducal coronet, *or*, a Moor’s head side-faced, for Bridges.

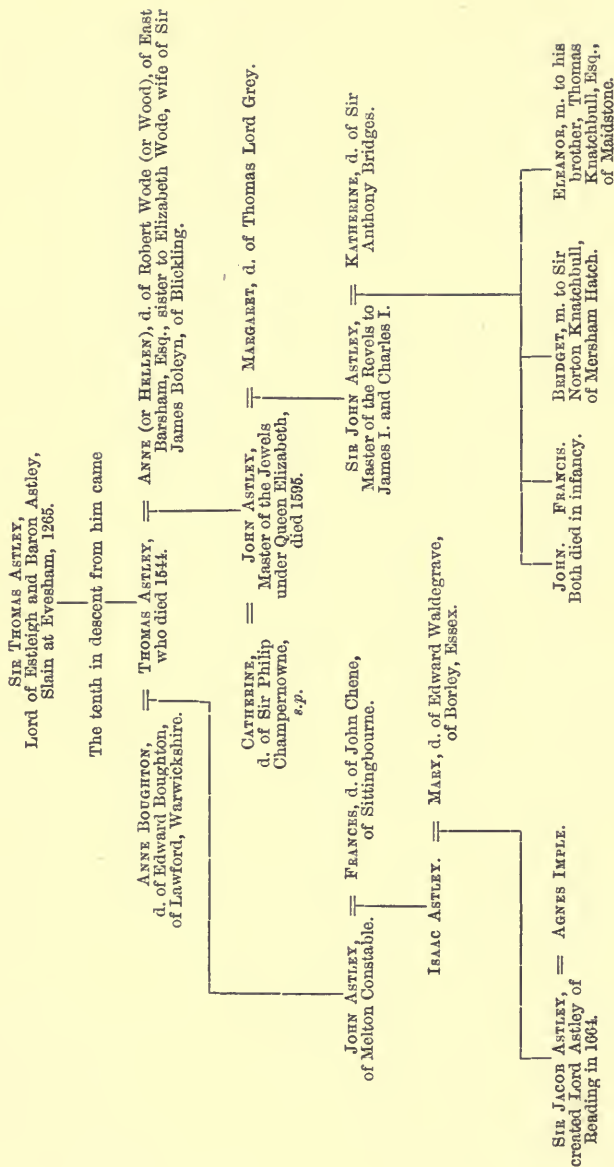
The Inscription tells how the son inherited the Royal favour, and how he rose to an office which would seem to belong rather to the times of the second Charles, “the Merry

Monarch," than to that of his melancholy and ill-fated father, or his gloomy and pedantic grandfather. It runs thus, in the stilted language of the day from the pen of a trusted friend and admirer:—

“Death hath added to the ornament
Of this place the blessed Memorials
Of the most accomplished Gent. by
Vertue and Parts, Sir John Astley,
Knight, onely sonne and heir of John
Astley, Esq., Master of the Jewels, &c.
Who from his tender years attended
On Queen Elizabeth in her Honourable Band
Of Pentioners; and after was Master of
The Revels to King James and King Charles.
He married Katherine Bridges,
Daughter of Anthony Bridges, Brother
To the Lord Edmund Bridges, Baron
Shandois (*sic*), of Sudeley Castle, by whom
Having had issue divers children,
They all dyed before him, so that in
The Disposition of his Lands he affection-
ately acknowledged both his Name
And his Nephewes, and left the care
Of his other Bequest in his Will to
William Harrison, Gent., the Queene's
Attorney in the Court of Common Pleas,
His Executor. Who out of due regard
To the Performance thereof and pious
Respect to the Memory of his Hon'ble Friend
Hath constructed this Monument.
Obiit 26 die Jan. A.D. 1639.”

The term “nephewes” is here evidently used in the widest sense of “kinsmen,” for the member of the family to whom the property passed was really only a Cousin,¹ as the accom-

¹ In his Will (Somerset House), “Coventry,” f. 21, he always calls Sir Jacob his “dear *Cosine*.”



panying Genealogical Table will show.¹ Both Sir John and Sir Jacob were descendants of the same Sir Thomas Astley, the one through his first wife, Anne Broughton, and the other through his second wife, Anne (or Hellen) Wode, or Wood.

Thus on the death of Sir John the property passed to his cousin, Sir Jacob, whose loyalty and prowess covered the name of Astley with far more glory than did either "the Master of the Jewels" or he "of the Revels," and reflected no little honour on the Town of Maidstone. This was the Sir Jacob Astley who fought gallantly in defence of the King against the Parliamentary forces, and so especially distinguished himself in the re-capture of Reading, that Charles raised him to the Peerage, connecting the name of that town with his Barony, creating him Baron Astley of Reading. It is of him that Clarendon says: "Sir Jacob Astley was an honest, brave, plain man, and as fit for the office he exercised of Major-General of the Foot as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteemed."² Another contemporary³ has borne a still higher testimony to his worth in recording the following anecdote, that before entering the Battle of Edgehill (where he was severely wounded) he knelt down and offered this memorable prayer: "O Lord, Thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget Thee, do not Thou forget me;" and with that he rose up and cried out, "March on, boys!"

To his memory appears a Tablet, characteristic in its

¹ This Table is compiled on those given in Berry's *Pedigrees of Kentish Families*, p. 372; in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, vol. ii., p. 419; and in Bayne's *History of Eastern England*, vol. ii., p. 143.

² *History of the Rebellion* (University Press, 1843), vol. i., p. 482.

³ Sir Philip Warwick's *Memories of the Reign of Charles I.*, p. 229.

simplicity, a black marble slab without border or ornament, with the following quaint rhyming Epitaph :—

“ To the never dying Memory of that
Great Souldier and Person of Honour
Lord Jacob Astley, Baron of Reading.

Let th' Island *Voyage* (in the Van) speake forth
Thy youthful *Valour*, thy all-daring *Worth* ;
Next *Neweport Battell*, where thou didst *preferr*
Honour to Life ; There made an *Officer*
By famous *Orange* (thy great *Generall*),
Under whose *Sword* (that day) *Spayn's* force did fall ;
What *Cloudes* of Nations could I raise for thee
And each one would a glorious *witnesse* bee,
As *Holland*, *Denmarke*, and vast *Germany*,
All grieve thy losse, *honour* thy *Memory*.
England (thy *Mother*) crowned thy hoary head
With *Major Generall*. Here in *Honours* Bedd
Thou (now) dost rest ; And with more Honour than
These times afford unto a Noble Man ;
Faith, *Valour*, *Conduct*, All in *Souldier* should
Or could be wisht for, This *Tombe* doth infold.

Ao. Dni. 1653.

Obiit 27 Die Februarii 1651.”¹

Far more ostentatious was the form in which his widow, a German lady, whose maiden name was Agnes Imple, desired to display her affection and admiration for one whose soldier spirit and bearing had probably captivated her in one of his campaigns abroad,—a massive slab of black marble, seven feet long and five feet wide, resting on four white columns, forms a “herse,” bearing on its centre a slightly sloping shield of snowy white marble, whereon, between two lion supporters, collared and ducally crowned, are carved in bold relief the Astley arms, impaling what was no doubt her own

¹ Newton, p. 95.

family blazon, a *falcon*,¹ resting on a dead branch, but with this unusual arrangement of the bird facing “sinister-wise.”

Conspicuous as this Monument still is without any extraneous ornament, how much more imposing and attractive must it have been when (as we are told) there hung over it, as in the case of the Tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury, the “great banner, and pennons, with coat, helm, crest, sword, shield, and coronet,”² of the devout and brave old soldier.

After him two generations, his son and grandson, both bearing his Christian name, remained in possession of the adjoining Palace. When, however, the representative of the third generation died in his father's lifetime without issue, the property passed by sale, like the Mote, to the Marsham family. To the memory of this last member of this branch of the house of Astley a fourth Tablet was erected, recording his gifts and his father's sorrow at his premature death:—

“Juxta hoc Monumentum
In Hypogæo arcuato extructo
Exuviæ Johannis Astley, filii natu minoris
Jacob Astley de Melton-Constable in Comitatu Norfolciæ
Militis, et Baronetti,
Deponuntur,
Quo felicius misceantur cineribus
Prænobilis Viri Proavi sui Domini Jacob Astley
Et Illustrium Propinquorum Dominorum Isaac et Jacob Astley
Baronum de Reading in Com. Berks.
Qui, cum Belgium totum et Fœderatas Provincias semel

¹ In a private Collection, preserved in the College of Arms, Lady Astley's family coat is given as a *raven*; but in Le Neve's MSS. Notes on Kentish Churches, in British Museum (Additional MSS., No. 5479, f. 305) it is described as a *falcon*, and the figure on the slab certainly rather resembles the latter bird.

² Le Neve's Notes, as quoted in preceding note.

Et celebriores Galliae et Italiae partes, Elegans Peregrinator
 his lustrasset, In Angliam rediit,
 Linguarum imprimis Latinae, et Scientiarum, si quis alius, Peritissimus.
 In quo, si uspiam, Artes Ingenuae et Humaniores Literae
 cum selectissimis moribus Liberaliter habitabant.
 At, Proh Dolor ! Nominis hic alterum Decus,
 Amicorum Deliciae et Desiderium, Nec unquam suis, nisi moriendo
 gravis,
 Praematurus, et Prolis expers, Variolarum morbo correptus,
 Londini, fato cessit Junii 30, Sepultus Julii 4.
 Anno Ærae Christianae 1719
 Aetatis 42.¹
 Hoc, tantæ virtuti et Amori sacrum, poni curavit Moestissimus Pater."

Which in English would run thus :—

"In an arched vault² near this Monument are deposited the remains of John Astley, the younger son of Jacob Astley, of Melton-Constable, in the County of Norfolk, Knight and Baronet, that they may be the more auspiciously mingled with the ashes of that very noble man his great-grandfather Sir Jacob Astley, and his illustrious relatives Sir Isaac and Sir Jacob Astley, Barons of Reading, in the County of Berks. When he had made a tour through Belgium and the Netherlands, and twice traversed the more famous parts of France and Italy, he returned to England, perfect master (if any one was) of the Languages, Latin especially, and the Sciences. In him dwelt lavishly (if anywhere) the liberal arts and more refined learning, with the most polished manners. But oh ! what grief ! he, a second ornament of the name, the delight and idol of his friends, who never caused his family a regret except in dying, was carried off prematurely, and without leaving any children, by an attack of small-pox in London, June 30th, and was buried here July 4th, A.D. 1719, aged 42. His most afflicted Father caused this to be placed as a tribute to his great virtue and a mark of his own affection."

The final words of the Epitaph on the North wing of

¹ Newton, p. 96.

² This vault was in the Chancel, from which all these Monuments have been removed.

the original Astley Monument supply the connecting link between it and the neighbouring one to Thomas Knatchbull, Esq., and his wife Eleanor Astley, which is more fully told in the Inscription on a long slab of blue marble erected by their eldest son, Sir Norton Knatchbull, many years after their deaths, to the following effect :—

“Juxta hic repositi contiguīs requiescunt urnis, ne quos vivos irrupta | Tenuit copula, Mors dirimeret, Thomas Knatchbull, Armiger, Filius | Richardi Knatchbull de Mersham-Hatch, Armigeri, natu quartus, et | Eleonora Uxor ejus, Filia Johannis Asteley, Magistri Jocalium, et a Privata | Camera serenissimæ Reginae Elizabethæ, Armigeri. Obiit ille A.D. 1623 | Annum agens quinquagessimum secundum. Illa vero 1638, ætatis sexagesimo Tertio.

“Utrique pietate insignes in Proximos, in Liberos, in Deum singulari, | Habuerunt prolem septem Filios, Richardum, Nortonum, Franciscum, | Thomam, Asteleyum, Johannem, et Georgium; Quorum quinque defuncti | Innubi, supersunt Nortonus et Thomas. Et quatuor Filias, Bridgettam, | Margaretam, Susannam et Aliciam; Quarum Priores tres jam etiam | Defunctæ, Tertia sine prole, Quarta adhuc in vivis.

“Justa hæc, debitæ pietatis memor, evolvit tandem Dominus Nortonus | Knatchbull de Mersham-Hatch, Miles et Baronetus, Eorundem Thomæ | et Eleonoræ Filius et Hæres, Anno Salutis Mundi 1653.”¹

The substance of which may be thus given in English :—

“Here repose close by in adjacent coffins, that death might not tear apart those whom in life an unbroken bond had held together, Thomas Knatchbull, Esq., the fourth son of Richard Knatchbull, of Mersham-Hatch, Esq., and Eleonora his wife, the daughter of John Astley, Master of the Revels, and a Groom of the Chamber, of her most Gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth. He died in 1623, in his 52nd year; she in 1638, aged 63.

“Both were conspicuous for their duty towards their neigh-

¹ Newton, p. 97.

bours, to their children, and to God. They had seven sons, Richard, Norton, Francis, Thomas, Astley, John, and George; of whom five died unmarried: Norton and Thomas survive. And four daughters, Bridget, Margaret, Susanna, and Alice: the three former are already deceased (the third without family), the fourth is still alive.

"Sir Thomas Norton Knatchbull, of Mersham-Hatch, Kt. and Bart., the son and heir of the said Thomas and Eleonora, mindful of his debt of affection, thus at length unfolds their merits, A.D. 1653."

The striking feature of this Monument is the array of seven richly emblazoned shields which run along the face of the frieze, and illustrate the family alliances.

In the centre, within a medallion, are the arms of Knatchbull: *azure*, 3 crosses crosslet fitchee between 2 bendlets, *or*; impaling Astley, quarterly, 1 and 4, *azure*, a cinquefoil, *ermine*, within bordure engrailed, *or*; 2 and 3, *azure*, a lion rampant, *gules*; each surmounted by its crest—(1) on a chapeau, *azure*, turned up, *ermine*, a leopard statant, *argent*, spotted, *sable*, for Knatchbull; and (2) out of a ducal coronet, *or*, a plume of five feathers, *argent*, for Astley.

On the dexter side the extreme shield has the Curteis arms: *argent*, a chevron, *sable*, between three bulls' heads cabossed, *gules*, impaling Knatchbull and Astley quarterly. (George Curteis, of Tenterden,¹ who was High Sheriff for Kent in 1651, married Bridget, the eldest daughter of Thomas Knatchbull.)

Next to it comes the shield of Toke of Godington (modern and ancient): quarterly, 1 and 4, *argent*, on a chevron between 3 greyhounds' heads erased, *sable*, collared, *or*, 3 plates, of the second; and, 2 and 3, an augmentation-coat

¹ Kilburne (*Survey of Kent*, p. 413) describes him as "of Chart, next Sutton Valence."

granted by Henry VII., parti-per, chevron, *sable* and *argent*, 3 griffins' heads erased, counter changed. (Nicholas Toke,¹ Sheriff for Kent in 1663, married, as his second wife, Margaret, another daughter of Thomas Knatchbull.)

The third on this side, the nearest to the centre one, contains the arms of Knatchbull and Astley quarterly, impaling Westrow, *or*, a chevron in chief, 3 crescents, *argent*. (His eldest son, Norton, the first Baronet, created in 1641, married Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Westrow, Sheriff of London.)

The first on the sinister side of central shield has Knatchbull and Astley quarterly, impaling Chute, *gules*, semée de mullets, *or*, 3 swords barwise, ppr. (His second son, Thomas, married Anne Chute, daughter of Edward Chute, of Appledore.)

The next on the sinister side is, *or*, a chevron between 3 talbots, ppr., impaling Knatchbull and Astley as before.

While the last is, per pale, *gules* and *azure*, a saltire, *or*, with a crescent for difference, impaling as before.²

Having brought to an end the description of this interesting and historical family group of the Astley and Knatchbull Monuments, we pass on to those of more miscellaneous character; and here some system may be adopted, instead of giving them in the promiscuous manner in which they appear in the pages of Newton.³ It will be seen that Physic, Law, the Army, Commerce, Clergy, had here no unworthy representatives, among former inhabitants of Maidstone.

¹ So say Berry in his *Kent Pedigrees*, and Hasted in his list of the Sheriffs; but in Wotton's *Baronetage* he is called "Thomas."

² The intermarriages of the daughters, Susan and Alice, have not been traced.

³ Every Inscription has been carefully verified by the original, and where occasionally inaccurately printed in Newton's History, has been corrected: in each case the reference has been given.

First to take the disciples of Galen ; foremost among them in point of time will come John Davy,¹ whose memory is preserved in a handsome alabaster Monument in the South-east corner of the South Aisle of the Chancel. The central portion of this Monument contains busts of John Davy and his wife in bold relief ; he attired in full academic costume, with a Vandyke collar, the whole contour of his face, long flowing curls, moustache, and imperial, strikingly resembling his Royal Master ; she wearing the broad coif-like head-dress of the period, loosely falling over luxuriant ringlets ; while each lays a hand on a skull lying between them. In the tympanum of the pediment is a shield bearing the Davy Arms (of the Norfolk family)²: *sable*, a chevron engrailed, *ermine*, between 3 annulets, *argent*. While in the space below the entablature, between the heads the same, for Davy, impaling *sable*, on a cross, *or*, between 4 fleur-de-lis, *argent*, 5 pheons, *azure*, for Banks of Aylesford. On either side of the Inscription is a medallion, containing in relief the full face of a lady, with that of a man in profile, doubtless representing the two daughters and their husbands.

The Inscription runs thus³ :—

“Neare this Place lye buried the Bodyes of John Davy,
Physition, third Sonne of Robert Davy of Eston in the
County of Norfock, Gent., and of Katherine his
Wife, Daughter of John Banks of Maidestone in the
County of Kent, Gent., with whome hee lived in Marriage
9 Yeares. Shee changed this Life for a better the 18th of
January 1631, and left unto him Issue one Sonne and 3
Daughters ; John and Katherine deceased. Mary his el-
dest Daughter himselfe saw married to John Wall,

¹ Mentioned with honour in the Burghmote Records, C.C., f. 11.

² A full account of this family will be found in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, vol. ii., pp. 395-6.

³ Newton, p. 86.

Gent., Citizen and Draper of London. Elizabeth his
 Youngest to Nathaniel Andrewes, Esq., Son of
 Thomas Andrewes, Lord Mayor of London. He departed
 this Life the 11th of May 1649, And of his Age the 69th
 Yeare; leaving his two surviving Daughters his Exe-
 cutors. Who out of Duty and Affection to theyre deare
 Father, have dedicated this Monument the 25th of September
 1651.

He left by Will a parcel of Land of the value of 20 pound
 per annum for ever, for an augmentation to the Stipend of
 the Master and Usher of the Schoole of Maidstone."

Following, according to date, come two men of the name of
 STAPLEY, father and son, both, it would seem, distinguished
 in their profession, if we may trust the Latin Epitaphs¹; which
 in the stilted style of that day proclaim their learning:—

"Cl. Viri
 Quippe Animi dotibus
 Cumulatissime Ornati
 D'ni Roberti Stapley
 Medicinæ Doctoris
 Quod reliquum est heic subtus jacet,
 Pleuritis, Nephritis, Diabetis (pernieiosæ Triadis),
 Non unius Morbi, Trophœum.
 Mortalitatem exiit, Maii die xix.
 Anno D'ni MDCLXXV., Ætatis LXII.,
 Magnâ superstite famâ.
 Sepulchrale qualecunque Marmor,
 Parenti suo olim charissimo
 Posuit ac vovet
 Votumque Posteris sacratum esse voluit
 Filius vere mœstus Rich. Stapley."

Which may be thus rendered in English:—

"Underneath lies what remains of Sir Robert Stapley, a
 man of note, Doctor of Medicine, most richly adorned with
 mental gifts, the victim not of one single disease, but of a
 deadly trio, Pleurisy, Nephritis, and Diabetes. He laid aside

¹ Newton, pp. 88, 89.

his mortal body on the 19th of May, 1675, at the age of 62, leaving behind a great reputation. His very sorrowful son, Richard Stapley, has placed this sepulchral Monument, such as it is, as a votive offering to his most dearly loved father, and a sacred Memorial to posterity."

That to the son himself is as follows:—

"Richardus Stapleius, A.M., Medicus,
Fato functus 29 Nov. A.D. 1679, Ætat. 25.

Hic subtus jacet.

Viator, si ad annos spectas, Præmaturus,
Sin ad eruditionem, longævus obiit.

Cursum Juvenis peregit

Quem raro Senes assecuti sunt.

In Medicina, in Anatomia, in Scientia Botanica
Instructissimus.

Quo vix, Phœbe, tua fueras præstantior Arte ;

Et, licet Oculus Mundi,

Sane digniorem Alumnum non conspexisti.

Sed, proh Dolor ! Præmatura Mors oppressit

Scientiarum simul et sæculi hujus

Ornamentum.

Invidia Parcarum hoc factum arbitror,

Quæ imperio suo dum viveret timentes

Vetuerè ulterioris Lucis Moram."

"Richard Stapley, A.M., a Physician, who died on the 29th Nov., 1679, aged 25, lies below. You who pass by, to you, if you regard merely his years, his death will seem premature, but if you look at his learning, his was a ripe age. As a young man he accomplished a course which old men have rarely achieved, being a perfect Master of Medicine, Anatomy, and Botany. Him didst thou, O Phœbus, scarcely excell in thine own art. And though thou art the 'Eye of the World,' verily thou hast never looked on more worthy pupil. But, alas ! a too early death overwhelmed one who was the ornament of science and of his age. Methinks it was brought about by the envy of the Fates, who, fearing their own empire was in danger so long as he lived, forbad that Light to shine any longer."

The son admits that he wrote the more modest Epitaph

for the father, but it is not avowed who was responsible for the fulsome adulation of his own.

In a medallion at the foot are the Arms of Stapley (of Sussex): *gules*, 3 boars' heads within a bordure engrailed, *argent*, impaling, *or*, a fesse, *azure*.

After them comes another formidable rival for medical fame, in the person of Dr. Charles Lybbe¹:—

“Hic situs est Carolus Lybbeus, M.D., ex illustri
 Libbeorum familia in agro Oxoniensi ortus,
 Domo vetustate, opibus, et sincera erga
 Principem fide imprimis conspicua. Si verum
 Admittis Lector, invidia licet audiente, dicam quod
 Res est, fuit ille cum optimis priscorum
 Temporum medicis facile comparandus
 Præsentis ævi si non primus at certe
 Inter primos, Ætatis xxxiv. pridie
 Idus Junii MDCLXXXVI. tædiis vitæ
 Fatigatus potius quam morbo
 Confectus diem suum obiit, at famâ
 Virtutum memoria hominum vivit
 Viret que nunquam interiturus.”

Which may be thus presented in its English dress:—

“Here is laid Charles Lybbe, M.D., sprung from the illustrious house of Lybbe in Oxfordshire,—a house conspicuous for its antiquity, its wealth, and before all for its loyalty. If, Reader, you allow me to say so (in defiance of envious listeners), what is the actual fact, he would well bear comparison with the best of his profession in former times, and if not the very first, is certainly among the foremost of the present day. He closed his career at the age of 34, on the day before the Ides (12th) of June, 1686, worn out with the fatigues of life rather than carried off by disease, yet by the fame of his virtues does he live, yea, and will enjoy an imperishable life in the memory of men.”²

¹ Newton, p. 91.

² The Arms, as given in Lee's *Visitation of Oxfordshire* (1574) are :

This is followed by one of more modest claims¹ : —

"Prope ab hoc pariete
 Exuviæ GRIFFITH HATLEY conduntur.
 Filius fuit natu quintus²
 Johannis Hatley,
 Civis Londinensis (Generosa Prosapia
 Apud Goldington in Agro Bedfordiensi oriundi)
 Et Annæ uxoris ejus, filiæ Johannis Porter,
 De Lamberhurst in Com. Cant. Armigeri.
 In Aula Pembrochiana Cantabrigiæ scientiis excultus,
 Medicinæ Doctor creatus est,
 Quam deinde in hac Villa Regia per 40 annos
 Cum magna peritiæ fideique laude factitavit ;
 Justiciarii quoque ad Pacem officio functus,
 Ne ullo unquam modo civium commodi deesset.
 Uxores duxit
 Johannam Smith Quæ juxta requiescit,
 et Saram Tymbrell De Portsmouth in Agro Hanton.
 Quæ Viro optime de se merito superstes,
 Hoc Monumentum pie posuit.
 Honoribus tandem, Opibus, Annisque cumulatus
 Londini, ubi vitalem auram nascens hauserat,
 Moriens efflavit.
 Julii 31 Anno Dom. MDCCX.
 Ætat. LXXI."

ermine, a bend between two lions rampant, *gules*. Crest : on a wreath an arm embowed in mail proper, holding a halbert erect. According to this Visitation, printed in *The Topographer* (Salisbury), vol. i., p. 19, the Lybbe family came originally from Taston, Devon ; and in the middle of the 16th Century one of them took to wife Joan, daughter of John Corker, of Checkenden, in Oxfordshire, and settled there, from whom this Charles Lybbe was descended.

¹ Newton, p. 82.

² In the entry of his name in the Admission-Book of Pembroke College, Cambridge, he is called "the eldest son" : "*Maii 14, 1655, Griffith Hatley, Johannis Grocerii Londinensis filius natu maximus, &c., admissus est.*"

This, turned into English, thus tells its tale :—

“Near this wall are buried the remains of GRIFFITH HATLEY. He was the fifth son of John Hatley, Citizen of London (sprung of a gentle race at Goldington, in Bedfordshire), and of his wife Anna, daughter of John Porter, of Lamberhurst, in the County of Kent, Esq. He was educated in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and took the degree of Doctor of Medicine, which he then practised for 40 years in this ‘King’s Town,’¹ with great credit for skill and conscientiousness. He also so performed the duties of Justice of the Peace, that he never failed in promoting the good of his fellow-citizens. He married twice : first, Johanna Smith, whose remains lie close by ; and Sarah Tymbrell, of Portsmouth, in Hampshire ; who, surviving him, has piously raised this Monument to a husband who deserved so well at her hands. At length, full of honours, riches, and years, he breathed his last in London, where he had drawn his first, July 31, 1710, aged 71.”

From one who combined with his practice of Physic the office of Justice of the Peace, we not inappropriately pass on to those who were more directly “learned in the Law.”

First of these comes the Monument of Lawrence Washington, formerly placed on the North side of the East window in the Chancel, and now occupying a very elevated position on the South wall of the Church ; which contains the following Inscription² :—

“‘Mortalis Morte Immortalis.’

“Here resteth the body of Lawrence Washington, Esq., of the Family of the Washingtons, antientlie of Washington in the Countie Palatine of Durham ; Register of the Highe

¹ Maidstone was so styled in King James’s Charter of 1604, and the title is still retained in the Sheriff’s Warrants, and in the “Habeas Corpus” forms, to this day.

² Newton, p. 94.

Court of Chancery xxvii yeares.¹ He had two wyvvs (*sic*), Martha, daughter of Clement Newce of Hartfordshire, Esq., and Mary, daughter of Sir Raynold Scott of this Countie, Knight. By his first he had 5 sons and 2 daughters, Lawrence and Mary, the eldest, only lyving,² Lawrence, succeeded him in his Office, married Ann, daughter of William Lewyn, Judge of the Prerogative Court. Mary married William Horsepoole of this Parish, Gentleman. His other daughter Martha married to Arthure Beswick, Gentleman, sonne of William Beswick of this County, Esq.

"He havinge lived a Vertuous life of singular Intiecrity (*sic*) in this place, being of the age of lxxiii yeares, died the xxi of December A.D. 1619.

"A Faithful believer in the meritts and mercies of his Saviour.

"To whose memory his Sonne hath erected this Monument.

"Though after my skinne Wormes destroy this Body,
Yet shal I see God in my flesh."

The allusion to Durham in this Epitaph is somewhat perplexing, for the Christian name of Lawrence never occurs among the original Durham Washingtons, nor in that branch of the family which subsequently settled at Aldwicke-le-Street, in Yorkshire.³ Whereas the great George Washington traced his descent to the elder of two brothers, John and Lawrence Washington, "who emigrated from the North of England" in the days of the Commonwealth; and these Baker⁴ distinctly connects with those at Sulgrave in Northamptonshire, who appear to have been a family of Lawyers, and among whom the Christian name of Lawrence occurs in

¹ He was elected Bencher of Gray's Inn in 1599, as shown in the Register of that Inn.

² The exact words of the Inscription are here given, though they seem to involve some confusion or obscurity.

³ Surtees' *History, etc., of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. i., p. 40. Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. i., p. 354, n.

⁴ Baker's *History of Northants*, vol. i., p. 513.

almost every generation. In that case, it is a reasonable inference that the Lawrence Washington of this Monument was an ancestral relative of the "First President of the United States."

Of those who filled the important local office of RECORDER of this town only three appear thus commemorated. The first of whom any mention is here made was WILLIAM GULL (who was Recorder from 1599 to 1634, when he resigned from old age), and his name only occurs incidentally in the Epitaph on his daughter Mrs. Crompe, thus :—

" Under the second stone
From the wall rests
The Body of Lidia, late wife of Thomas Crompe,
Daughter of William Gull, Esq.,
Recorder of this Town,
Who died the 1st of October 1624."¹

Nearly a Century elapses before another is similarly honoured, when appears the name of William Dixon (on a Monument on the North wall of the Chancel Aisle), with the following Inscription :—

" To the Memory of WILLIAM DIXON, Esq.,
Descended from the Dixons of Helden in this County.
He was a Barrister at Law, Bencher of Grey's Inn,²
And many years Recorder of this Corporation.
Who died the 19th day of January 1725, aged 80."³

The following is to another Recorder :—

¹ Newton, p. 88.

² He was elected Bencher in 1689, and Treasurer in 1698.

³ Newton, p. 85.

"To the Memory of
 WILLIAM DIXON, Esq.,
 Descended from the Dixons of Hildlen in this county.
 He was Barrister at Law, Bencher of Grays Inn,
 and many years Recorder of this Corporation.
 Who dyed the 19th of January 1725, aged 80.
 Also to the memory of
 Rebecca his wife,
 who died March 1st 1729, aged 58.
 They had one son and three daughters,
 Samuel, Catherine, Sarah, and Rebecca.
 Two of them surviving, Catherine and Rebecca, erected this Monument."

The name of Dixon again occurs in connection with
 another tablet, which records the worth of a sister-in-
 law,¹ who would seem to have been a modern "Dorcas" :—

"Prope hanc columnam
 Depositæ sunt cineres
 D'æ ELIZABETHÆ CALLANT,
 Pietate erga Deum,
 Liberalitate erga egenos,
 Et omni genere fœmineæ virtutis
 Inter Municipales suos præclara.
 Cujus ne Memoria
 Cum corpore periret.
 Hoc Epitaphium inscribi curavit
 Gulielmus Dixon Armiger.
 Obiit 23 die Junii, Anno Salutis 1715."

The English of which may be thus given :—

"Near this pillar are deposited the ashes of Mrs. ELIZABETH
 CALLANT, conspicuous for her piety towards God, her liberality
 to the needy, and for every kind of womanly virtue among
 her fellow-townsfolk. That the remembrance of her should
 not perish with her body, William Dixon, Esq., has caused this
 Epitaph to be inscribed. She died on the 23rd day of June,
 in the year of our Salvation 1715."

¹ He had married Rebecca Callant.

The Callant family appear to have held for some time an important and influential position in the town. The name frequently occurs in the list of Jurats, Chamberlains, and, in their turn, of Mayors; as also in connection with the Church as Wardens.

Then follows a long interval, no other Recorder's name appearing till the beginning of the present Century, when that of Sir John Buchanan Riddell is worthily commemorated on a richly ornamented brass plate on the East wall of the South Chancel:—

“ In memory of
Sir JOHN BUCHANAN RIDDELL,
of Riddell in the County of Roxburgh, Bart.,
Who died at the Mote, Maidstone, on the 21st April 1819,
in his 50th year, and was buried in the Chancel of this Church.

Also of his Widow,
the Lady Frances Buchanan Riddell,
daughter of Charles, first Earl of Romney,
who lived 48 years in the Palace, Maidstone, and there died
on the 30th of June 1868, in her 90th year,
and was buried in the Cemetery of this Parish.

This Monument was erected by their four sons and five daughters.”

There is also, if reliance may be placed on the language of his Epitaph, one who well deserves an honourable position among the luminaries of the Law, and who, though not himself a Recorder, was the son-in-law of one. His merits are thus set forth in laudatory Latin on a marble Tablet on the North wall of the North Aisle of the Chancel, under that of his father-in-law, William Dixon, and from which he would seem to have been as rich in personal gifts and graces as in legal lore:—

“Hoc juxta marmor | conditæ jacent mortales exuviae |
SPICER WELDON, Armigeri, | Hospitii Lincolniensis Londini,
Assessoris dignissimi; | Qui dum vixit, erat | in

Causis agendis, | Patronus capax, integer, diligens ; | Lucri
 nimium nec appetens nec avarus, | Pietatis non fucatæ, |
 Fidei vere Christianæ | Cultor sincerus, nec morosus ; |
 Verbi Divini Auditor non infrequens. | Hinc in eo amabile
 illuxit exemplum, | quod æmulentur plurimi, imitentur
 pauci, | Assequantur vero paucissimi. | Utpote qui omnia
 vitæ mutuæ officia | Humanitate prorsus laudabili adimple-
 vit ; | Maritus optimus, optimusque Parens, | Amicus strenuus,
 fidusque, | Comes jucundus nec levis, | Urbanus, liberalis ; |
 Vir denique probus, prudens, benevolus. | Exiguo hoc maximi
 amoris et debiti cultus testimonio, | Marmor ejus cohonestari
 voluit Vidua pietas spectata moestissimæ | Rebeckæ filiæ et
 cohæredis Gulielmi Dixon, Armigeri | Et hujusce Municipii
 olim Proprætoris | Cui relicta est filia Rebecca | Luctus
 Materni Particeps et Solatium. | Obiit vir integerrimus Mai
 die decimo tertio | Ætatis suæ anno LIV. Salutis
 MDCCXLVIII. | In eodem etiam sepulchro jacent sepulti |
 Catherina Weldon filia, | Et Dixon Weldon filius, | Illa obiit
 Junii die xij. MDCCXXXIX., Æt. IV. Hic Novembris die
 xix, MDCCXLIV., Æt. VI.”

In modified form the same appears in English on a slab in the Chancel floor, between the North Stalls and the lower step to the Communion Rails, with the addition of the death of his wife, Rebecca Weldon, thus:—

“ Beneath this stone lies the body of
 SPICER WELDON, Esquire,
 Benchet of Lincoln’s Inn.

He married Rebecca, one of the daughters and coheireses of
 William Dixon, Esquire, late Recorder of this town.

He died the 13th of May, Anno Domini 1748, aged 54 years.

Under the same stone also lies buried

Catherine Weldon their daughter, and *Dixon Weldon* their son.

She died the 12th of June, Anno Domini 1739, aged 4 years.

He died the 9th of November, Anno Domini 1744, aged 6 years.

Also the body of Mrs. *Rebecca Weldon*,
 widow of the above *Spicer Weldon*, Esquire, . . . ”¹

¹ The date of her death is lost under the step, nor does the Church Register contain any entry of her burial.

The Army, too, was worthily represented here.

The earliest now remaining bears the name of one who seems to have belonged to a family of soldiers. His name, indeed, only occurs among those of a brother's family, Captain Gustavus Belford, on a stone near the East end of the South Aisle, where it is recorded: "Here lieth the Body of Lieutenant General Belford, many years Commander of the First Batallion of Royal Artillery, who died 1st June, 1780," a date which suggests that he probably took part in some of the battles of the earlier stage of the American War,—Lexington or Bunker's Hill.

Those that follow recall the days when Maidstone was the headquarters of a Cavalry Regiment. The first records the tragic close of a career full of bright promise. The tale is thus told on a plain black tablet on the East wall of the South Aisle :—

"In Memory of
PETER SHADWELL,
Lieut. Col. of the 23rd Regt. of Light Dragoons,
and Commandant of the Cavalry Depot;
who was shot to the heart by a deserter
in the Public Street of Wrotham at 8 o'clock in the morning,
on the 1st day of June 1799, in the 47th year of his age.
By this atrocious deed
the Country was deprived of a valuable Officer,
and the Soldier of a sincere Friend;
who from his extraordinary Military talents
rose from a private to the rank he held when he was murdered."

An interval of thirty years occurs, and Maidstone produces a memento of one of the Peninsular Officers belonging to a Regiment which carries on its colours the well-known names of "Vimiera," "Corunna," "Talavera," "Salamanca," etc. :—

“ Sacred to the memory of
 Lieutenant Colonel GEORGE TOD,
 29th Regiment of Foot, who died 3rd June 1832.
 And of Sarah his wife, who died 25th December 1840.
 Whose remains, with those of their infant son George Gordon,
 are interred near this spot in the vault of Joseph Hills.

Lieutenant Colonel George Tod
 Served with distinction in Spain and Portugal,
 Under the Duke of Wellington, and in North America.
 He was the third son of William Tod, Esq., Fochabers, N.B.,
 Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace
 for the Counties of Banff, Moray, and Inverness.”

Over the Inscription is a shield, *argent*, a fesse chequy of the first and *sable*, between 3 foxes' heads erased, with a mullet for difference.

From the Peninsula we pass to India and the Punjab, and to a time which again recalls the days when Maidstone was the headquarters of a Cavalry Regiment.

On the West wall of the Nave is the following tribute to a gallant body of officers and men who had doubtless been well known in this town, and who fell fighting their Country's battles in the Far East :—

“ Sacred
 to the Memory of
 Lt. Colonel WILLIAM HAVELOCK, K.H.
 He served in Portugal, Spain, and France,
 at Quatre-Bras, where he was wounded,
 and at Waterloo.
 He fell at the head of his Regiment,
 charging the Sikhs
 at Ramnuggar on the Chenab,
 on the 22nd day of November 1848, Aged 56 years.
 Captain JOHN FORSTER FITZ-GERALD ;
 he died on the 26th of November 1848,
 of wounds received in action at Ramnuggar,
 Aged 28 years.

Lieut. AUGUSTUS JOHN CURETON,¹
 killed at the Battle of Chillianwallah,
 on the 13th of January 1849,
 Aged 18 years.

Lieut. AMBROSE LLOYD,
 killed at the Battle of Gujerat,
 on the 21st of February 1849,
 Aged 26 years.

Serjeant John Harwood, Corporal William Parker Todd,
 and Privates John Alderton, William Alpine, Richard Bagg, William
 Brazenor,

Charles Fox, John Hatton, Richard Hungerford, Benjamin Jennings,
 James Raines, Charles Tuttell, John Ward, and George Williams,

Killed on the 22nd of November ;

and George Atkins, David Evans, and George Tookey,

Killed on the 13th of January 1849.

The Officers of the 14th (King's) Light Dragoons
 erect this Monument to their Comrades
 who fell in the Campaign of the Punjab.

(Be thou faithful unto death)."

This necessarily brief record of what was one of the most brilliant episodes in the Punjab Campaign will admit of a fuller account from the pen of an eye-witness, it being borne in mind that William Havelock was one of a brotherhood of gallant soldiers, of whom Henry, the hero of the "Relief of Lucknow," was the best known ; while his brother Charles, too, was no insignificant *sabreur*. The scene at Ramnuggar is thus described² :—"Brigadier Cureton had given his consent to another body of these (Sikhs) being attacked by the 14th, and the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Gough), riding up to William Havelock, had said, 'If you see a favourable opportunity of charging, charge.' The gallant old Colonel

¹ This was the stripling son of the brave old Brigadier whose death he had so short a time before witnessed at Ramnuggar. (See next page.)

² *Calcutta Review*, vol. xi., pp. 274-5.

soon made the opportunity. And so it was; not many minutes after, William Havelock, 'happy as a lover,' and sitting as firmly in his saddle as when he leapt the *abatis* on the Bidassoa, placed himself at the head of his cherished Dragoons, and remarking, 'We shall now soon see whether we can clear our front of these fellows or not,' boldly led them forward to the onset. All who beheld it have spoken with admiration of the steadiness and the gallantry of this glorious charge. . . . Havelock was not even wounded. . . . Again the trumpets of the 14th sounded, and Havelock, disregarding all opposition and difficulties, and riding well ahead of his men, exclaimed, as he leapt down a bank, 'Follow me, my brave lads, and never mind their cannon shot.' These were the last words he was ever heard to utter. . . . He never returned from that scene of slaughter. . . . He is said to have slain several Sikhs with his own hand on that day. . . . We know that few had learned in youth to wield sabre or rapier like William Havelock, and at fifty-six his eye had lost nothing of its native quickness." In the meanwhile, during the first charge, "Brigadier Cureton, bravely riding to the front, had received in his gallant breast a fatal match-lock ball."

And yet another Monument remains to be noticed to the gallant officer who preceded Havelock in command of this distinguished Regiment:—

"Sacred
to the memory of
Lieutenant Colonel JOHN WALLACE KING, C.B.,
who commanded the 14th Light Dragoons
during the greater part of the Punjab Campaign
of 1848, 1849,
and died at Lahore on the 6th of July 1850.

This Tablet
 was erected by his brother Officers
 as a Testimony that the many virtues
 which had endeared him to a numerous circle of Friends at home
 were appreciated by those who witnessed his gallantry abroad
 while commanding his Regiment in the Field."

Among the miscellaneous the earliest still preserved is that to Susann Maplesden, which runs thus:—

"SUSANN MAPLEDEN being of the just age of 84 years hath ended her Pilgrimage vertuouslie and with good Report, being one of the daughters of Thomas Partridge of Lenham, Gent. She lived with her Husband Jarvis Maplesden (one of the Jurates of this Town)¹ 45 years ; By whom she had issue five Sons and six Daughters, whereof three Sons and four Daughters were married and had issue, so that they and their Children were 4 score and ten souls before her death. She lived a Widow 10 Years 5 Months and 3 Weeks, and ending her Life with a constant Faith and full Assurance in her Saviour Jesus Christ. She was buried the 18 Day of October Anno 1603. RM. COSE."

The name of Maplesden—or as Philipott² spells it, Mapelysden—calls up a sad association with one of the great national events which to a serious extent disturbed the peace of Maidstone. George Maplesden, of an ancient family of mark in the neighbourhood, which had owned the Manor of Bigons (or Digons) from the days of Edward III., had recently become possessed of Chillingdon Manor House. It may be this close proximity to Allington Castle proved fatal to him, for he was involved in that mad rebellion which cost Sir Thomas Wyat his Castle and his head, and lost also to Maplesden his Manor and his life, and the Town its Charter for a time,—events which must have occurred in the middle-life of that aged and matronly widow of Jarvis Maplesden, the subject of the foregoing Epitaph.

¹ He was Mayor in 1577. ² Philipott's *Villare Cantianum*, p. 229.

Here is an Inscription noteworthy from its singular character :—

“Hic jacet Corpus Willi Stanley,
SCDVS (Secundus) Fil. IO. Stanley de
West Peckham Gen., Fil. Willi
Fil. Thome Fil. Johis Stanley
de Wilmington 3 Fil. Willi
Stanley Armig. DNVS (Dominus) de Stanley
in Comi. Staff PDCVS (Prædictus) Will.
Obiit 23 Augusti 1621.”

It concisely represents six generations, and may be thus amplified :—

“Here lies the body of William Stanley, the second son of John Stanley of West Peckham, Gentleman, the son of William, who was the son of Thomas, who was the son of John Stanley of Wilmington, the third son of William Stanley, Esquire, Lord of Stanley in the County of Stafford. The aforesaid William died August 23, 1621.”

This corresponds exactly with the Stanley Pedigree given by Berry, who traces this William Stanley from Lord Stanley of Stafford, and adds that he married Audrey, daughter of William Elston, of Maidstone.

On the North wall of the Chancel is a very characteristic Monument of the Stuart period, consisting of an arched canopy of alabaster, supported by flat black pillars, flanked by two cherubs, one having his foot planted on a skull. In the centre are two figures kneeling before a double “Prie Dieu,” with open book on either slope,—the man in black civic gown, with deep rolled collar; the lady also in black, with a coif draping her head. Above them, in the middle of the entablature, is a shield,—1st and 4th (for Carkaredge, of Godmersham), *argent*, on a fesse engrailed, *sable*, three quarterfoils, *or*; 2nd and 3rd, so defaced that it is not easy to conjecture the charges. Under the arch, between the

two figures, another shield, dexter as above, impaling quarterly, 1st and 4th, *gules*, a bend, *or*; 2nd and 3rd, a cross flory, *sable*.

Under the figures is the following Inscription :—

“*Memoriæ Sacrum*

Thomæ Karkaredg, filii unici Gervasii Karkaredg, generosi, et Mariæ filiæ Georgii Hills de Eggerton prope Godmersham, generosi; Qui cum amantissime vixisset cum Amia, filia Arthuri Francklyn de Wye, generosi, conjuge sua per quinquaginta fere annos sine prole, primo die Decembr. A. Salutis 1639, et Ætatis suæ 72, ab hac luce migravit.

“Hoc (exiguum licet) Amoris sui erga humatum conjugem Testimonium contumulari Desiderio uxor relicta mœrentissima meritissimo posuit.

“Hunc (Tu Lector) viventem esurientes pascendo, nudos vestiendo, et ad hæc (apud Wye et Godmersham) ad imperpetuum legando, imitare, et mercede cum eo nunquam peritura frueri.

“Serius aut citius omnis movetur urna.”

Which may be thus rendered in English :—

“Sacred to the Memory of Thomas Karkaredg, the only son of Gervase Karkaredg, Gentleman, and Mary, daughter of George Hills of Eggerton near Godmersham, Gentleman. Who, after he had lived with his wife Amia (the daughter of Arthur Francklyn of Wye, Gentleman) most lovingly for almost fifty years, without any family, passed away from this life on the 1st of December 1639, aged 72 years.

“This mark (slight though it be) of her love for her buried husband has his most sorrowing relict caused to be erected to him whose loss was most deservedly regretted.

“Reader, do thou imitate him in life, in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and to that end leaving bequests in perpetuity (for Wye and Godmersham),¹ and with him enjoy an imperishable reward.

“Sooner or later every one’s urn is shaken, *i.e.*, every one’s turn to die must come.”

¹ He left £6 a year—no trifling sum two hundred and fifty years ago—to be divided between the two Parishes, for supplying clothing to

It is said that "some are born great, and some have greatness thrust upon them;" clearly Thomas Karkaredge would come under the latter head. The Burghmote Records tell of an incident in his Maidstone life which may account for the tenor of his Will. He was elected in 1624 by his fellow-townsmen to fill the office of Jurat,¹ but declined the honour, and for his refusal was subjected to a fine of twenty marks. This he resented; and while Maidstone Church possesses a memorial of his benevolent spirit, that benevolence itself, perhaps in umbrage, though fifteen years had passed, found its objects in his ancestral neighbourhood of Wye and Godmersham.

Below the Monument to Thomas Karkaredge is a black slab with an Inscription which would seem to connect the family of Francklyn,² into which he had married, with that of Gilbert Innes, one of the Clergy of the Church. It runs thus :—

"Near this marble lieth the body of
Walter Francklyn, Gent.,
who died the 23rd of Sepr. 1758,
aged 68 years.
Also Jane, his wife,
daughter of the Rev. Gilbert Innes,
Formerly Minister of this Parish,
who died the 26th of May 1754,
aged 56 years."

two poor widows in each Parish, specifying with a minuteness indicative of a "Hosier" the materials and colour of the several garments.

¹ Burghmote Records, B.B., f. 79.

² This is not the earliest mention among the Monuments of the Francklyn family; indeed, the floor of the North Chancel Aisle is nearly paved with tombstones bearing the names of members of the family, but they are so much defaced by wear as to be in most cases illegible.

While the alliance of the Knatchbull family with that of the Astleys is displayed here on a richly emblazoned Monument, a more modest, yet far more eloquent Inscription, on a plain unadorned Tablet, tells how the more ancient Kentish house of the Derings of Surrenden became connected with Maidstone in the person of a daughter of the first Baronet ("the learned Sir Edward"), who married into the family of English, at that time owning the neighbouring Manor of Buckland. The following touching tribute to her worth is here offered by her bereaved husband:—

"Hic inhumata obdormit Dorothea
 Olim Dei nunc Deo redditum donum,
 D. Edwardi Dering, militis et Baronetti filia,
 Thomæ English de Buckland, Armigeri, Uxor,
 Ob conjugalem fidem et morum suavitatem
 Merito charissima.
 Filios tres, Filias vero septem peperit,
 In ultimarum tandem Gemello partu
 Martyrio quodam expiravit.
 Placide quiesce chare Cinis!
 Militasti pulchre, jam triumphas eximie,
 Dum inter lachrymas et luctus gemens maritus
 Hoc amoris sui testimonium inscribi curavit.
 Obiit xx Aprilis MDCLXIX. Ætat. suæ xxxviii."¹

It may be thus, though imperfectly, given in English:—

"Here sleeps entombed, once the gift of God, now given back to God, Dorothea, daughter of Sir Edward Dering, Knight and Baronet, the wife of Thomas English of Buckland, Esquire. Deservedly most dear to her husband for the

¹ She was the daughter of Sir Edward Dering, the first Baronet (created in 1628), by his third wife, Unton, the daughter of Sir Ralph Gibbs (Berry's *Pedigrees of Kent*, p. 397).

faithfulness of her married life, and the sweetness of her manners. She had 3 Sons and 7 Daughters, and at length died in agony, giving birth to twins.

Calmly rest, dear Shade !

Well hast thou fought, now enjoy thy triumph to the full,
While thy afflicted husband, 'mid tears and sighs,
Causes this to be inscribed in token of his love.

She died on the 20th of April 1669, aged 38 years."

On a plain oval tablet in the North wall of the South Chancel Aisle :—

" Sacred to the memory of Dorothy Lawrence, Daughter of John Lawrence, Esq., of Barns in Surrey, and Grand Daughter of Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayor of London, in the memorable year 1665, whose magnanimity on that occasion is recorded to His Honour. His descendant, to whom this is dedicated, resembled her Ancestor in those incommunicable perfections of the mind which adorn humanity, and by uniting the practical Christian virtues to superior talents rendered her life a blessing, and her death was universally lamented.

" She departed this January 2nd 1793, Aged 72."

This Monument (which is unnoticed by Newton) connects the town of Maidstone indirectly with a man who filled no insignificant position in the Corporation of London, and indeed with a momentous period in the history of England: Sir John Lawrence, little as he is known, seems to have fully merited the praise bestowed on him in this Tablet of his Grand-daughter. He was the son of an influential citizen, and, like his father, a member of the Grocers' Company. Notwithstanding the evil report which had reached the King of the Corporation generally¹—for they were in ill-favour for persistently resisting the attempts of the Crown

to interfere and dictate in civic matters—Lawrence, who had been elected to the Shrievalty in 1658, must have been regarded as an exception, or as a man worth being won over to the King's side; for he was Knighted within a month of Charles's Restoration. It was, however, in the memorable year 1665 that, as Lord Mayor, he covered himself with honour; for as Orridge¹ says, "Sir John Lawrence was distinguished for his heroic benevolence during the Great Plague." Evelyn,² too, records that the Procession that year was "the most magnificent triumph by water and land." This Blue-Coat-School boy must also have been a man of no inconsiderable intellectual attainments, for he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1673—then, as now, no trifling honour.

In the pavement of the North Chancel Aisle :—

"Here lye the bodies of Thomas Cripps of this Parish, Gent. (eldest son of John Cripps, Gent.), and Margaret his wife, who left issue only Mary, sometime the wife of Edward Fogg,³ Esq. (eldest son of Richard Fogg of Dane Court in the Parish of Tilmanstone in this County), who exchanged this life for an imortall (*sic*) in the 45th yeare of his age, and was also here interred the 6th day of March in the yeare of our Lord 1683."

The following is on a marble Monument on the North Chancel Wall. Over this Monument are the two shields,—that on the dexter side, on a chevron 7 horseshoes, for Cripps; on the sinister, a cross flory composed of nine lozenges, for Fotherby :—

¹ Orridge's *Citizens of London and their Rulers*, p. 238.

² Evelyn's *Diary* (Bray, 1850), vol. i., p. 385.

³ This Edward Fogg seems to have come of a family of sailors. He was captured by the Dutch on June 1st, 1666, and released as an exchanged prisoner in the following November. *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. v., p. 114.

"D. O. M. S.¹

Hic sita est Margarita Cripps,

Filia natu minina

Thomæ Fotherby Arm. et Elisabetha

(Roberti Moyle Arm. filiae)

Uxor Johannis Cripps, Gen.

Cui peperit filios duos Thomam et Johannem ;

Quorum Johannem superstitem reliquit,

Longo prognata sanguine

Moribus suis majores cohonestavit.

Vixit pietate erga Deum insignis,

Conjux amantissima, mater optima,

Obiit Oct. die 8vo, An. Dom. 1696. Ætatis suæ 36."

"Here lies Margaret Cripps, the youngest daughter of Thomas Fotherby, Esq., and Elizabeth (daughter of Robert Moyle, Esq.), the wife of John Cripps, Gentleman, to whom she bore two sons, Thomas and John, of whom she left John surviving. Sprung from an ancient family, she did honour to her ancestry by her own life. Distinguished for her piety towards God, a most loving wife and excellent mother, she died on the 8th of October A.D. 1696, aged 36."

Within three years she was followed to the grave by her youthful husband, when a touching Epitaph bore testimony to their mutual love and holy lives:—

¹ The real meaning of these letters is doubtful. On every Monument or Tombstone in almost every foreign Cathedral or Church the first three letters (D.O.M.) appear ; but the addition of S. is very unusual. Some learned men have assigned to the letters a Pagan origin, as expressing a dedication to some patron deity, thus : "D(eo) O(ptimo) M(aximo)"—"To the very good and great deity." Others incline to give it a more Christian significance, thus : "D(atur) O(mnibus) M(ori)," with in this case the addition of the word "S(emel)"—"It is appointed to all men once to die," as being to every reader a reminder of his own mortality. Or, again, others have suggested another explanation : "D(omus) O(mnium) M(ortalium),"—that the grave is the house to which all mortals journey.

"Juxta Charissiman Conjugem requiescit
 Depositum Johannis Cripps, Generosi.
 Amantissimus vitæ Comes, postliminio mortis
 Qui obiit xxiv die Julii Anno Dom. MDCXCIX.
 Ætatis suæ xxxvi, insimul obdormit in Domino
 Dignissimum Par in spem Beatæ Resurrectionis.
 Hanc Mnemosynem defuncti fratris Epigraphe subjiciendam
 Curavit Cripps Gener.
 Memoria Piorum Æterna."

The substance of this may be thus given in English :—

"Close by his very dear wife rests the body of John Cripps,
 Gentleman. Her most loving companion in life, he was
 restored to her in death. He died on the 24th of July 1699.

"Together sleep this most worthy couple in hope of a
 Blessed Resurrection," etc.

In the centre of the Chancel, between the Rails and Altar, on a slab :—

"Hic jacet una cum duobus filiis
 Thoma et Samuele ante patrem
 Extinctis, FARNHAMUS ALDERSEY,¹
 Familia non minus opulenta quam
 Vetusta prognatus; liberos quatuor
 Ex conjuge Sara, adhuc viva duos
 Mares, totidemque fœminas sibi
 Superstites reliquit. Maidstonii,
 Ubi etiam laudatam vitam egit,
 Piam mortem obiit KAL. Januarii
 Anno Redemptionis humanæ
 MDCLXXXVI. Ætatis LXIII."

At the head of this Inscription is a shield, bearing quarterly, 1 and 4, on a bend engrailed between two cinquefoils, three

¹ Second son of Thomas Aldersey, of Bredgar. His father had married Margaret, the daughter of Humphrey Farnham, of Leicester, and the second son received the mother's maiden name (Berry's *Kentish Pedigrees*, p. 290).

leopards' faces, for Aldersey (identifying him with the old Cheshire family of that name); and 2 and 3, a fesse, on chief three boars' heads (? for Taylor, of Maidstone, his wife Sara having, according to Berry, been the daughter and co-heir of Richard Taylor, of Cranbrook, a brother of Sir Thomas Taylor, of Maidstone), with the crest a demi-griffon issuing from a plume of five feathers.

On a stone in Middle Aisle:—

"Christopherus Fullagar¹

Generosus,

Obiit xij die Julij,

Ætatis LVI.

Anno Salutis MDCCLXI.

Hic sepulta jacet Elizabetha

Christophori Fullagar,² Generosi

Charissima Uxor, Valentini

Chadwicke de East Peckham

Vicarii dilectissima Filia, quæ

Et si non annis tamen virtute

Et pietate repletam vitam egit,

Et, Deo sic volente, præmature

Obiit decimo quinto die Octobris

Anno Domini 1693, Ætat. xx, Expectans

Per Jesum Christum Felicem

Resurrectionem.

Anna Fullagar supra nominati

Christophori Fullagar vidua

Obiit xij die Maii

Domini MDCCLXII.

Anno Ætatis suæ LXXXVII.

Anna Maria Fullagar

Obiit xiv die Julii

Anno ætatis LXII. Salutis MDCCLXIII."

¹ Newton, p. 92.

² Hasted, ii., p. 121, says, "Samuel Fullagar bought the site of St. Faith's Church, and his son, Christopher Fullagar, became proprietor of it."

On a slab in the North Chancel Aisle under a shield,
1 and 4, spread eagle; 2 and 3, like Knatchbull:—

“Richard Polhill died the 12th January 1739, Aged 32 years.

Left issue three sons.

Also Rebecca his wife

(afterwards married to Mr. Robert Hartridge), died

Novr. the 14th 1757, Aged 59 years.

Also Richard, the youngest son of

the above named Richard and Rebecca Polhill,

died June the 19th 1785, Aged 45 years.”

And on an adjoining slab the following:—

“Under this stone lyeth the body of

William Polhill, Gent., who died

April 11th 1768, Aged 68 years.

Likewise the body of

Thomas Turnis, who died

March the 30th 1750, Aged 69 years.

Also Elizabeth his wife died

July 28th 1780, Aged 86 years.

Also David Polhill, Esq., died

October the 3rd 1782, Aged 67 years.

Also William Polhill his son died

July 10th 1789, Aged 37 years.

Also Miss Helen Polhill

his daughter died August 13th 1795, Aged 35 years.

And Mrs. Helen Polhill, Wife of the above David Polhill,

Esq., died April 10th 1796,

Aged 73 years.”

On the North-west face of the Eastern pier of the
Chancel, under the figure of a child weeping over an urn,
is a tablet to one of Maidstone's Benefactors, from the
chisel of Nollekens:—

“Sacred to the Memory

of Sir Charles Booth, Knt.,

late of Harrietsham Place in this County,

who died the 26th day of April 1795, Aged 60 years.

By his Will he bequeathed
 Two Thousand Pounds
 to be invested in Government Securities,
 the interest thereof
 to be applied for ever
 to the education of Poor Boys and Poor Girls,
 Inhabitants of, or near unto this Parish.
 With other like Charitable Legacies to the
 Parishes of Harrietsham, Marden, and Horsmonden in this County.¹

On a flagstone in South Chancel, near Vestry Door:—

“In memory of
 EDWARD ELLIS, died Sept. 18,
 1777, aged 63 years. Jane, his Wife, died Oct. 28,
 1783, aged 59 years.
 Also 3 Sons and 2 Daughters
 who died in their Infancy,
 (Viz.) Mary, William, Samuel,
 John, and Elizabeth.
 EDWARD ELLIS, Son of
 the above named, died April 3rd, 1820, aged 71 years;
 ELIZABETH, his Wife, died Dec. 5th, 1786, aged 33 years.
 Also ANNE, his second Wife, died
 April 9th, 1820, aged 61 years.
 Leaving issue 2 Sons,
 George and Edward.
 Also EDWARD, Son of the above
 Edward and Anne Ellis,
 who died February the 10th, 1823, aged 29 years.”

Two Monuments should be here noticed, as having once
 lain on the pavement, and only rescued from oblivion by

¹ Sir Charles Booth had been High Sheriff for Kent in 1784, in
 which year he received Knighthood. He died at his Town House in
 Upper Harley Street, and was buried in this Church on the 5th of
 May, 1795. The three Parishes here named owe the foundation of
 their parochial schools to this legacy, while here “Booth’s School” still
 remains as an independent Institution in Knight-Rider Street, where
 sixty boys and forty girls receive a free education.

T. C. Smythe, in his MS. Memoranda, ii., p. 135, preserved in the Maidstone Museum :—

“ Here lies the Body of
Sir GYFFORD THORNHURST, Barronett,¹
who died the 16th of December, 1627.
He had issue one son deceased, an infant,
and two daughters now living, Frances and Barbara,
by Dame Susann, the only daughter of Sir Alexander.”

The arms were also engraved on the brass: *ermine*, on a chief 2 leopards' faces, impaling, on 2 bars 3 mantlets each, in chief a mullet. Crest, on a mount a greyhound couchant.

Another, on a stone :—

“ In Memory of Sir Edward Austen, of Boxley Abbey, Baronet, who departed this life December 16, 1760, aged 55 years. He was descended from Sir Charles Robert Austen, formerly of Hale Place in the Parish of Bexley in this County; who was created a Baronet by King Charles II. in the 12th year of his reign. Lady Austen, relict of the above Sir Edward Austen, died 20th of September, 1772, aged 57 years.”

Above the Inscription was a shield,—a chevron between 3 lions' gambs, erased; on an escutcheon of pretence a chevron between 3 cinquefoils. The Baronetcy became extinct in 1772.

This selection—for, considering the scores which either in fragments or with well-nigh obliterated inscriptions, cover, and compose the pavement of, the Church (to say nothing of the countless array with which the Churchyard bristles), it can only be a selection—may be brought to a close with

¹ He was created in November 1622, as Sir Gifford Thornhurst, of Agnes Court, Kent, and the Baronetcy became extinct on his death.

the few which refer to Clergy whose remains have found a resting-place here, in most cases preserving records of their ministrations in the Parish.

Of those directly connected with the Parish Church the earliest of whom any monumental record remains is ROBERT BARRELL, of whom full mention has been made,¹ as he had to bear the brunt of the storm of fanaticism which burst upon the country during the reign of Charles I. He had a domestic sorrow as well as parochial trouble; for at the outset of his ministry here he suffered the loss of his young wife, to whose memory he placed a small tablet, which still remains in the East wall of the South Chancel Aisle, with this Epitaph :—

“Sub hoc tumulo jacet cadaver
Susannæ Barrell, Uxoris ROBERTI
BARRELL, Clerici ; cui peperit tres
Filios Filiasque duas castissimo
Thoro, Hæc obiit sexto die
Maii Anno Domini 1621.
Ætatis suæ 29.”²

Which may be thus given in English :—

“Under this tomb lies the body of Susanna Barrell, the wife of Robert Barrell, Clerk ; who bore him three sons and two daughters in chaste wedlock. She died May 6th 1621, aged 29.”

Of his successor, THOMAS WILSON, whose memory Calamy says was “precious,” no memorial tablet remains in the Church.

His successor, again, John Davis,³ was more fortunate ; his merits are thus recorded :—

¹ Pages 120-123.

² Newton, p. 82.

³ Page 129.

"Hic situs est JOANNES DAVIS
 Othamiensis Ecclesiæ Rector, necnon
 Animarum Curæ in Parochia
 Maidstoniensi præfectus. Ubi
 Omnibus Boni Viri Fidique Pastoris
 Officiis Bona Fide Functus, cum
 Dignitate et ingenti omnium
 Cujuscunque ordinis et opinionis
 Hominum amore merito vixit.
 Pacem unice coluit, annum agens lvii
 Recessit ad v non Julii, MDCLXXVII."¹

"Here lies JOHN DAVIS, Rector of Otham, and also appointed to the cure of souls in the Parish of Maidstone, where he faithfully fulfilled all the duties of a good man and a faithful Pastor with dignity, and with the well-merited love of men of every class and opinion; he was singularly successful in promoting peace, and died in his 57th year on the 3rd of July 1677."

Gilbert Innes,² too, has his due recognition of a laborious ministry, if the word *desudavit* be meant to be taken literally:—

"Quod reliquum est
 Revdi Viri GILBERTI INNES
 Qui in hac Ecclesia annos
 XIX plus minus desudavit
 Hic subtus jacet.
 Obiit quinto die Maii
 Ære Christianæ MDCCXI.
 Anno Ætatis suæ LXI."³

"Under this lies what remains of that reverend man GILBERT INNES, who worked laboriously in this Church for about nineteen years. He died on the 5th day of May, in the year of the Christian Era 1711, aged 61."

This, though not so stated, was doubtless the loving tribute of his widow, who also on the same tablet records

¹ Newton, p. 83.

² Page 130

³ Newton, p. 87.

the death of their eldest daughter, nearly three years after ;
to be followed by that of her own death in advanced age :—

“Etiam jacet Elizabetha,
Gilberti Innes natu maxima,
Obiit decimo die Martii, Anno Domini 1714.
Hic quoque jacet
Uxor prædicti Gilberti Innes,
et Filia Johannis Peters, Cantuariensis Medici celeberrimi.
Obiit decimo septimo die Maii,
Domini 1732.
Anno Ætatis suæ 72.”

Following on comes a graceful testimony from a sadly stricken widow to the worthy efforts (during an all-too-short ministry here) of his successor JOSIAH WOODWARD, whose distinguished literary career and pastoral zeal have been already mentioned¹:—

“JOSIÆ WOODWARD, SS.T.P.
Et hujus Ecclesiæ Curati,
Qui intra anni plus minus a primo adventu spatium
Morte correptus,
Magnum sui desiderium post se reliquit.
Et non sine magno pauperum, præsertim puerorum et puellarum,
Quos moribus honestis primus institui curavit,
Ac totius hujus oppidi, luctu,
Ad Dominum migravit vi die Augusti,
Anno Ætatis LII.
Domini MDCCXII.
Quem fuisse eloquentem ac eruditum Concionatorem
Tam pronuntiata quam impressa plurima Testantur.
Viro apprime charo
Ac omni genere Doctrinæ et Bonitatis ornato
Ne tanta merita posteris ignota sint,
Hæc saxa pietissime posuit moestissima Conjux
Martha Woodward.”

¹ Page 131.

Which may be thus rendered in English :—

“ To Josiah Woodward, D.D., and Curate of this Church, who, carried off by death within the space of about one year of his coming here, left behind him a very deep regret at his loss ; and to the no little grief of the poor, especially of the boys and girls,¹ whom he was the first to have trained up in virtuous ways, and indeed of the whole town, passed away to his Lord on the 6th day of August, A.D. 1712, in the 52nd year of his age.

“ How eloquent and learned a preacher he was, the many Sermons he delivered and Works he printed bear witness.²

“ To her most dear husband, a man ornate with every form of knowledge and goodness, lest posterity should fail to know his worth, his deeply sorrowing wife, Martha Woodward, has in most ardent affection raised this tablet.”

¹ His founding the “ Blue-Coat School ” is mentioned at page 132.

² It may not be amiss to insert here the titles of some of the principal works he published.

First to take the Sermons, with their dates :

1698.—On Consideration for the Souls of Others.

1700.—The Duty of Instructing poor Children.

1709.—On the Duty of Public Thanksgiving (after Marlborough’s victories).

1710.—The Boyle Lectures, “ On the Divine Origin and Excellence of the Christian Religion.”

1711.—On the Divine Right of Civil Government. This was the first and last Sermon he preached before the Maidstone newly elected Mayor, and Corporation. Its opening sentence was as follows : “ Our first step this day is rightly taken in imploring the blessing of the Disposer of all things on the measures which shall be taken for the good of this Corporation.”

A few of his many Parochial Pamphlets may be mentioned :

1702.—Advice to a Young Person on Confirmation.

1703.—A Persuasive on the Observance of the Lord’s Day.

1704.—A Caution to Profane Swearers.

1705.—A Seamen’s Monitor (a 14th Edition of this appeared in 1799).

1711.—A Dissuasive from Drunkenness.

1712.—A Soldiers’ Monitor.

SAMUEL WELLER, who succeeded Woodward, has also fitting recognition here. A tablet on the North wall of the Chancel Aisle bears testimony to an exemplary ministration of nearly forty years:—

“*Memoriæ Sacrum*
Reverendi SAMUELIS WELLER, L.L.B.
Parochiæ hujus per quadraginta ferme
Annos Ministri, quam Provinciam
Doctrina ornavit et exemplo.
Obiit Jan. ix. MDCCLIII. Anno Ætatis LXVII.
*Lector, si possis, imitare.”*¹

A long interval now follows in which no memorial

¹ On the same stone follows the Epitaph of his son-in-law:—

“*In eodem tumulo depositi sunt cineres*
GEORGI MAY,
Qui omnibus vitæ muniis quibus versari
Contingit, integritate inviolata functus est
Unicam supradicti S(amuelis) W(eller) filiam
Matrimonio duxit, per quam binos genuit filios
Quorum alter in incunabilis decessit;
Obiit Mar. xiv. MDCCLXXXV. Anno Ætatis XLVIII.
Pio et gratissimo animo
In memoriam optimi parentis et mariti
Hoc marmor posuit Filia et Vidua Superstes.”

The substance of which may be thus given:—

“Sacred to the memory of the Rev. SAMUEL WELLER, LL.B., for nearly forty years the Minister of this Parish, which office he adorned by his example no less than by his teaching. He died January 9th, 1753, aged 67.

“Reader, imitate him if you are able.”

“In the same grave are deposited the remains of GEORGE MAY, who performed with strict integrity all the duties of life. He married the only daughter of the above-named S. W., by whom he had two sons, one of whom died in the cradle. He died March 14th, 1785, aged 48.

“In a spirit of piety and gratitude did the surviving daughter and widow erect this Monument in memory of the best of parents and of husbands.”

appears to any of the succeeding Clergy of the Parish; during which, however, occur the names of some who, though not connected with the Parish Church, were apparently residents here, and whose bodies were buried within its precincts.

Of these that of RICHARD BEESTON, whose name may still be traced on a small slab in the floor of the North Chancel Aisle, and is incorrectly spelt *Beston* by Newton,¹ is the earliest. The Inscription cut in stone is surmounted by a small brass (one of the very few remaining in the Church), representing his wife and himself kneeling, and their children kneeling behind them:—

“Christus mihi Vita, Mors mihi Lucrum.”

Here lieth interred the Bodie of

RICHARD BEESTON, Clerke, Mester (*sic*) of Arts,
Who departed this life the 26th day of Dec. 1640,
and left issue by Elizabeth his wife,
Daughter of John Pawle, Gent.,
Fower sonnes and three daughters.

On the North end of the middle step leading up to the Communion Rails is one to “The Rev. Mr. JOHN DURRANT, who departed this life the 25th day of January 1731, aged 65 years.”

On a slab in the pavement of the South Chancel Aisle is an Inscription to several members of the Muriell family, and among them to “FRANCIS MURIELL, Clerk, who died the 5th of July 1750.” He was Rector of Ruckinge, and Vicar of Detling.

On an oval tablet on the South wall of Nave:—

¹ Page 91

"Sacred to the Memory of Anna Eliza, wife of WILLIAM WORCESTER WILSON, D.D., Vicar of Deptford, in the County of Kent, who departed this life August 13th, 1775, in the 48th year of her age.

"Also to the Memory of the said WILLIAM WORCESTER WILSON, D.D., who departed this life Dec. 11, 1791, aged 65."

This Chapter of Monumental Records cannot be more fitly brought to a close than by the touching Epitaph which, as a tribute of filial affection to their parents, presents an appropriate companion to the one which closed the preceding Chapter, and bore witness to the respect and regard of the Parish to its last Vicar, who followed his wife to the grave within little more than a year.

It appears on an elaborately ornamented brass inserted in the wall on the right hand of the Vestry Door:—

"Her children shall arise and call her blessed."

"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."

To the Glory of GOD,

and in remembrance of his servant, THOMAS DEALTRY, M.A.,

Born March 3, 1825, Died Nov. 29, 1882,

and HARRIET DEALTRY his wife,

Born July 27, 1831, Died Sept. 30, 1881.

Resting in Maidstone Cemetery.

He was Archdeacon of Madras 1861—1871.

Rector of Swillington, Yorksh., 1872—1878.

Vicar of Maidstone 1878—1882.

"Well done, good and faithful servant,
Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

"Remember those that have spoken unto you
the Word of God."

CHAPTER VIII.

REGISTERS—ALTERATIONS IN THE CHURCH—THE SPIRE—STAINED
GLASS WINDOWS—AND REGIMENTAL COLOURS.



IN dealing with the Parish Registers the Author regrets exceedingly that he is unable to carry out his original intention of giving full and copious extracts from them, and is constrained by both time and space to confine himself to a brief and cursory description of their character and contents. To extenuate his omission, and to reconcile the reader to it, he feels he need only say that down to the close of the last Century alone the Registers extend over fourteen Volumes.

They are thus introduced: "The regystre off the Collegiate Church off all Sayntes' in Maydeston in the wiche be wryten and contayned all and singlre as well the propre names as the surnames off them that have be (*sic*) wedded, Christened, and buried within the sayed Parysshe frome the third day off September in the xxxiiijth yeare off the reygne off the most excellent Prince Henry, by the Grace off God Kynge off Englande, off ffrance, and off Irelande, and in erthe supreme heed (*sic*) under Christe off the Churche off Englande and Irelande."¹

¹ At the head of the first page is a note in a different and more recent writing, that "Henry VIII. began his reign Anno 1509."

Probably very few Churches in England can produce Registers of an earlier date, or more regularly kept. It will be seen that they date back to within six years of the time when Thomas Crumwell (soon to be created Lord Crumwell, and eventually Earl of Essex), in his capacity of Vicegerent of the King in all matters Ecclesiastical, obtained the sanction of Henry VIII. to issue his memorable "Injunctions;" one of which was to the effect that every Parish Church should have its Register-Book, and a Parish Chest to keep it in.

The mention of Thomas Crumwell's name justifies a passing remark that the Church of England owes him, with all his failings, a debt of gratitude for this, if for nothing else, that, in an endeavour to introduce a better organization into the Church system, he enforced the use of "Parish Registers." Up to that time there had apparently been no attempt to preserve any records, not at any rate methodically, of the Baptisms, Marriages, or Burials performed throughout the land. From Crumwell emanated the Injunction in 1538, to be promulgated by each Bishop through his Diocese, which first established a systematic record, and provided for its preservation. It ran thus:—

"You, and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate, within this Diocese, shall for every Church kepe one boke or register, wherein ye shall write the day and yere of every Weddyng, Christeninge, and Buryinge made within your Parishes, . . . and shal therein inserte every person's name that shalbe so weddid, christened, or buried; and for the sauff keepinge of the same boke the Parishes shalbe bownde to provide of their common charge one sure coffer with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remayne with yow, and th' other with the said Wardens of every such Parishes wherein the said boke

shalbe laide up.” And to ensure a regular observance of this order, it was further enjoined, “whiche boke ye shall every Sunday take furthe [forth], and in the presence of the said Wardens, or one of them, write and recorde in the same all the weddings, christenings, and buryings made the hole week before; and that done to lay upp the boke in the said coffer as afore.” Nor was even this sufficient to meet the requirements of Crumwell’s administrative mind; for it went on to say: “For every tyme that the same shalbe omitted the partie that shalbe in the faulte thereof shall forfeit to the said Church*e* iijs. & iiij*d*. to be emploied on the reparation of the same Church*e*.”¹

In the last year of Edward VI.’s reign the same Injunctions were re-issued with hardly a verbal alteration, save that such entry should be made immediately after each Morning or Evening Prayer.²

Yet, though these rules were so rigidly enjoined by Henry, and endorsed by Edward, they would seem to have generally fallen into disuse in the latter part of Elizabeth’s reign; for, according to Strype,³ Bishop Still, of Bath and Wells, brought a proposal before Convocation in November 1597, that steps should be taken to check the laxness of the Clergy in this matter; that every Sunday all entries made in the Register-Book during the preceding week should be “publicly read in the Church.” On James’s coming to the

¹ The original of this Injunction is in Archbishop Cranmer’s Register (Lambeth Library), f. 99, b; and a contemporary copy of it in the Public Record Office, *Tractat. Theol. & Politic.*, III., Chapter-House Books, A., 1. It is also printed in Wilkins’ *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 816; where the date is wrongly given 1536.

² Bishop Sparrow’s *Collection of Injunctions*, etc., p. 5, where it is also given in the original Latin.

³ *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, vol. ii., p. 378 (1822 Ed.).

throne, he re-issued the Injunctions, without any important alterations beyond requiring that a third lock and key should be provided for the Parish Chest,¹ so that each Churchwarden should keep one.²

Thus what might strike any one accustomed to the more general character of Parish Registers as a remarkable feature in those at Maidstone is fully and satisfactorily accounted for, as being a more than usually strict observance of the letter of these Injunctions. Instead of having been roughly noted down at the time of each of these Occasional Offices, as was doubtless the more common habit, and then from time to time copied into the Register, the entries have clearly been made *week by week*; and each week's record, even if there has been no Christening, or Wedding, or Burial during the interval, has been duly signed by the "Parish Priest" in the presence of a Churchwarden, whose name is also given.

As the opening title states, the entries under each head, Marriages, Christenings, and Burials (for such is the order in which they come), commence with the 3rd September, 1542. The Marriages extend over sixty-seven pages, to October 1553; at which point there is a note in the margin: "This year Queen Mary came to the Throne." Then follow the Christenings, covering seventy-three pages (from pp. 69-142), and ceasing with August 1551. After them the Burials (from pp. 143-218), from the same date to February 1552, when the first Register closes.

¹ An interesting specimen of such a "Parish Chest" may still be seen in Detling Church, cut out of a solid block of elm, with its three locks (the third apparently a subsequent addition), and used not only for the Register-Book, but also (as a slit in the cover would suggest) to receive offerings for the poor.

² Bishop Gibson's *Codex*, etc., vol. i., p. 204.

Between this first and the second Book occurs a gap (*hiatus valde deflendus*), corresponding with the reign of Mary. During that memorable period of nearly five and a half years not a record exists of any such Offices. This is the more remarkable as (Sir) John Porter, who had so strictly preserved week by week (with two short intervals)¹ all the records during the five last years of Henry VIII.'s reign, and that of Edward VI., was evidently still acting as "Parish Priest;" for it was this fact which gave rise to the suspicion of his Romish proclivities, and was avowedly the ground for his removal by Archbishop Parker on Elizabeth's coming to the Throne.²

With the reign of Elizabeth a separate Book is kept of the Burials, reaching from 1558 to 1640; while the Marriages and Baptisms, beginning from the same year, are continued, in one Volume, the former to 1642, the latter only to 1628.

The growing laxness in keeping these records is evidently extending to Maidstone, where at the first such exemplary attention to the letter of Crumwell's Injunctions had been observed. The more usual plan of only signing at the foot of the page, first by Minister and Churchwardens, and in time only by the Minister, is now introduced; eventually even his signature is omitted.

The signature of Robert Carr, Porter's successor, is remarkable, occurring from 1559 to 1610, "Robert Car, Minister ther" (*sic*); then, after an interval of twenty-five years (during which no signature appears) in 1635 Robert Barrell

¹ During the months of May and June 1543, and again from March 1549 to the end of that year, occurs the name of (Sir) Thomas Pyne, signing as "Priest." He had also been Porter's Colleague in the College.

² Page 114.

signs himself "Clericus," till the eventful 1642; when he was removed.¹

Now follows a period when the good people of Maidstone were evidently too much the victims of politico-religious excitement to be given to marrying, for during the ten years between 1643 and 1653 there were altogether only sixty-three marriages. In that year came into force the Ordinance which constituted Marriage a mere Civil contract, only needing the presence and signature of the Mayor, or some Justice of the Peace. The solemnization was taken out of the Church's hands, though the record was still to be made in the Church Register. This lasted till the Restoration, when the necessity of the Church's sanction was again recognized; and John Davis, the nominee of Archbishop Juxon, signs as "Clericus," till 1677; after him comes Humphrey Lynde, with the same title; which however he subsequently changes to that of "Minister." After him, for rather more than half a Century there was great irregularity in signing, though the Registers were apparently very carefully kept, until in 1752 the new system of requiring the signature of the Officiating Clergyman to be appended to each separate entry was introduced.

Like many ancient Parish Registers, these of Maidstone contain terms which have long since become obsolete. For instance, not unfrequently occurs in the entry of a Burial the word "Chrisom" of such and such a parent, sometimes without the Christian name at all: which implies that this child died within a month of its being christened, that is, during the period of its wearing its "chrisom cloth," the white napkin which would have been laid on its head at its baptism.

Among the historical events which an examination of these

¹ Page 123.

Registers brings to light is the existence of a "Plague" here in the beginning of the 17th Century. The mention of "the Plague" involuntarily carries the mind to that appalling visitation in England, and especially in London, which in 1665-6 swept off its victims to the number of between eighty and a hundred thousand; but England has known other such visitations, though happily of a less overwhelming character. One has been alluded to under the name of "the Pestilence," which in 1348 carried off Archbishop Bradwardine, and also one after another of the Wardens of Boniface's Hospital.¹

But one marked the opening of the reign of James I. of which history seems to have taken but little account; it however has left its melancholy record on the pages of the Burial Register here. It made its appearance in Maidstone in March 1603; but had, it seems, only a single victim in each of the next four months. With the September of that year it began its more formidable ravages, which continued into the following May. While the ordinary annual mortality of the town at that time was under sixty, its death-roll, as revealed by the ominous word *plague* written against the name of each of its victims (sometimes six and seven in a day), ascribes to it no less than one hundred and thirty-six from that cause alone during those nine months, in excess of the normal number.

The bitter experience of that "Plague" would seem to have set the authorities of the town on their guard; for, when in 1625 a pestilential disease broke out in London,²

¹ Page 85.

² The severity with which this plague raged in London is described in the Life of Nicholas Ferrar, as given in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. v., pp. 153-155.

the order went through Maidstone that no one should "carry or re-carrie (?) any goodes from this town to London, or from there hither, during the Infection, upon forfyture of fyve pounds for every offence; . . . and that no Inhabitant of this town shall entertyn or lodge any party or partys inhabiting in London, upon like payne."¹

Then again in 1636 a similar alarm appears to have come over the town; for the following Order is entered in the Burghmote Minutes, that "during the infeccon (*sic*) of the plague in London seaven Wardmen and Watchmen be appointed to watch and ward at such places and such times as shall be thought fitte and convenient to keepe all suspitious persons and goodes from coming into the town, as by them shall be thought dangerous."² And the silence of the Registers at these periods suggests that these precautions succeeded in preserving the health of the town.

A few remarks will not be out of place here as to the various alterations which have from time to time been made in the internal arrangements of the Church, which it was difficult to introduce in the earlier description of the building. There was doubtless a time when, with the exception of the Choir and its Stalls, reserved for the College Staff, the whole Church presented an open, unbroken area like the Naves of many of our Cathedrals even in recent years; and was only used in those days for gorgeous Processional Services, or for Special Sermons, when probably a plain movable Pulpit was introduced, and stools provided for the congregation.

¹ Burghmote Records, B.B., f. 89. In this and subsequent Extracts the original quaint spelling is retained.

² *Ibid.*, B.B., f. 158.

However, early in Elizabeth's reign it was resolved to give to the Church as parochial a character as possible, and to utilize the area to the utmost for Divine Service, as the following entry in the Burghmote Records will show¹:—

On the 11th of May, 1563 (5 Elizabeth), it was “ordered by the Mayor, Jurats, and Office-holders that all maner of men and women dwellyng and inhabytyng within the Towne and Parische of Maidston shall from henseforth sytt in the Church of Maidston aforesaid in such places and stooles as the Churchwardens for the tyme beyng assigne and appoynte, uppon the payne of every persone offending unto the contrarie for every offence in the premysses, thre shillings and four pence of lawful money of England to be levyed of the same persone or persones his or their goods and cattalls to the use aforesaid.”

But only a very few years passed before an attempt was made to appropriate portions of the area, and to erect family seats or pews. The movement in this direction would seem to have been made in 1569 by Nicholas Barham, then one of the rising Magnates of the town, who was at the time Recorder for the Borough, and had recently become the owner of Chillington House (now the Museum), and assumed the coif as Serjeant-at-Law to Queen Elizabeth.

The “great window of the South Aisle” had apparently fallen into disrepair, and this furnished the opportunity and excuse for this innovation.

The terms of the agreement with the Mayor and Jurats under which this appropriation was permitted are thus given in the Burghmote Records, under date September 5th, 1569: “In cónsideration that Nicholas Barham, one of Her Majesty's Serjeants at the Law, hathe at his proper

¹ Burghmote Records, A.A., f. 29.

charges erected and buylded fyve seats or pues in the South Isle (*sic*) adjoyning to the Chancell of the Paryshe Church of All Seynts of Maidston, for the necessary placing of himself and his wief and family,

“And for that the said Nicholas is also contentid to enter into covenante with the Mayor, Jurats, and Comonalty of the said Town and Parishe of All Seints of Maidston, for him, his heires, and assignes, of the hous wher he now dwelleth in the Town of Maidston aforesaid, to beare and susteyne at his and their proper charges, the necessarye reparacions of the great wyndowe of the same Isle, scituate over agaynst the same pues from tyme to tyme as often as yt shal be requisite,

“It is therefore ordered and agreed by the same Mayor, Jurats, and Comonalty of the Town and Parisshe of All Seynts aforesaid and withe the consent of the Freeholders beyng at the said Court—That the said Nicholas, his heires, and assignes of the said hous wher he now inhabitethe within the said Towne, shall have and injoy the only easement, use, and comodity of the same fyve seats, and one other seate next above the same seats, and to them adjoyning without let or interruption of them or their successors.

“And that one Instrument in wryting between the said Mayor, Jurats, and Comonalty, and the said Nicholas, shal be made accordingly, wherein shal be comprised the covenant of the said Nicholas for the said reparacion of the said wyndowe as is aforesaid.”

This was apparently the thin edge of the wedge which in Maidstone, as everywhere else, was eventually to cause the deplorable rift, so far as the House of God was concerned, between the “classes” and the “masses,” and practically to exclude the poor from their Parish Churches. How the

system was allowed to become virtually general here, as in other parishes, will be presently seen.

In the course of the following Century more, and still more extensive, appropriations of space were permitted to take place. The Astleys, not content with having occupied a large portion of the floor and walls of the Chancel in memorials of their dead, now, by virtue of being owners of the adjoining Palace, claimed to have some seventy seats assigned to them for the living members of their family! The leading townsmen naturally followed the example set them by their more wealthy neighbours, until the whole body of the Church, it may be said, had become a mass of "family pews" of every variety of material and shape, differing, and seeming to vie with each other, in size.

Then came the next stage of Church disfigurement in the shape of deep, unsightly galleries, rendering the side Aisle seats almost useless. Sir Robert Marsham, having recently become the owner of the Mote, finding no fitting accommodation available for his family and retinue, obtained permission of the Corporation in 1681 to erect a gallery at his own expense in the North Aisle; but this arrangement so seriously affected the boys of the Grammar School, who had previously occupied seats in that Aisle (called in the Vestry Book the "Lady Aisle"), that they were promoted to the gallery overhead, a portion of which was assigned to them. Another gallery followed, confronting it on the opposite side, for the use of other leading families of the neighbourhood. Thus the entire Church was "appropriated," filled with a mass of family pews and private galleries, until no place, except perhaps in the most remote and uninviting portions of their Parish Church, was left for the use of the poorer Parishioners.

When, at the close of the 17th Century, the Rev. Gilbert Innes was appointed Curate, he set himself to right, if possible, this monstrous wrong. In spite of a very powerful opposition, especially on the part of the Astley family,¹ who pertinaciously claimed their seats (though, having removed to their Norfolk estates, they very rarely used them), he succeeded in obtaining a little more general distribution of space and uniformity of appearance; yet, alas! this, it is believed, was at the expense of some fine old oak carving of the preceding Century.

During the 18th Century very little material change was effected in the general aspect of the Church; only some few efforts were indeed made towards improvement.

A tall Pulpit had arisen. At first it was placed, with its heavy Sounding Board,² near the first pier on the North side—the “Gospel” side as it used to be called—of the Nave facing West; then, for the supposed advantage of the congregation, it was moved to the West end of the Central Aisle, a change which involved less inconvenience than might be supposed, as the great majority of the pews would be square, facing either way. In the course of time, however, it was restored on a more orthodox plan towards the East; but now in the centre of the Aisle, where it rose in all the ponderous and obstructive dignity of a “three-decker” elevation—“Pelion on Ossa, Ossa on Olympus piled.”

Then the seats of honour assigned to the Churchwardens and Overseers followed suit. Originally at the West end, “for the better hearing the Sermon and ordering the Service,” they occupied two spacious seats, carefully screened off from

¹ The amusing correspondence between the Curate and Sir Jacob Astley is given in Gilbert's *Memorials*, etc., pp. 161-164.

² The Sounding Board has been *inverted* into the Vestry Table.

draughts by a glazed partition; but with the moved Pulpit they too moved Eastward, and, with the Corporation, occupied seats below the first step rising up to the Chancel.

The Organ must also be noticed. One was purchased by voluntary subscription in 1747, and appears to have been originally placed in the South-west corner of the Church, from whence it was moved into a gallery at the end of the Nave, and there stood, flanked by the children of the "Blue-Coat School" boys on one side, girls on the other, constituting the Choir for many years, until the Rev. W. Vallance had it removed at his own cost, and placed in the South Chancel Aisle, the pipes being arranged in the upper portion of the Vestry, which was raised to receive them.

Few visitors would fail to notice the Font, which, like the Astley Monuments already described, betrays a desire to proclaim family glory rather than to promote the Glory of God. It is in itself a study and an enigma. The bowl is a massive block of Bethersden marble, octagonal in form; on the Eastward face it bears a strange heraldic medley; on a richly mantled shield appear, on the 2nd and 3rd quarterings, the usual lion of Scotland and harp of Ireland, but on the 1st and 4th the three lions of England (strange to tell) altogether disappear, and are made to give way to four fleur-de-lis.¹

¹ With the Stuarts the Royal Arms underwent a memorable change. Edward III. (claiming through his mother the throne of France) had introduced in the 1st and 4th quarters five fleur-de-lis, which were reduced by Henry V. to three, and so remained, the three lions of England occupying the 2nd and 3rd quarters. But when James I. came to the throne, England and France quarterly filled the 1st and 4th quarters, while Scotland appeared in the 2nd and Ireland in the 3rd. On this Font, however, *four* fleur-de-lis occupy the 1st and 4th quarters, and the lions of England are *nowhere*.

While on the North face of the Font are the Astley Arms in all their elaborateness of display, a cinquefoil, *ermine*, with a crescent for difference. Tradition has it that the original Font of this Church, removed to make room for this no doubt costly, yet interesting, specimen of Jacobean art and taste, may be found at Sevenoaks; and certainly that Font bears the shield ascribed to Guido de Mone, the last of the old Rectors of St. Mary's (the chevron engrailed between three leaves), which forms the heraldic device on the last Stall Eastward in the Choir of this Church.

Of the state of things which thus existed half a Century ago, a telling sketch was given by the lamented Archdeacon Harrison, when, on the occasion of the reopening of the Church in 1886, he recalled his impression of its condition on his first preaching in it in 1836, "filled with horse-box pews, a three-decker, and galleries."¹

It would involve no ordinary effort on the part of any casual visitor of to-day—and even the old resident who could recall the vague memories of childhood's churchgoing would find it no easy task—to picture to himself the entire area of the grand old Church, now filled with uniform handsome low oak seats with poppy-head finials, crowded, as it was half a Century ago, with great heavy square pews lined with faded baize, red, green, and every shade of colour, all suggestive of ease and slumber, and obstructed with deep galleries, claimed, if not filled, by the "upper ten" of the town and neighbourhood, with no room left for God's poor.

Such was the state of the Church when Archbishop Howley appointed Mr. Vallance to the Cure. His great work, in which he was nobly aided by the late Lord Romney, then living

¹ *Maidstone Standard*, February 27th, 1886.

at the Mote, and other influential residents (though not without much bitter opposition), was to open out the whole area, sweep away the great family pews, remove the heavy galleries, and introduce the present seats. But even then the renovation of the Church was not complete, from a lack of funds. The body of the building—the most spacious Church in the county of Kent—was so far set in order: but there remained the whitewashed ceiling, relieved (? disfigured) by a heavy cornice, to mock the eye of the Antiquary by leading him to believe that behind it still lurked some remains of a once richly carved and elegant open roof.

The result of the alterations then introduced may be thus summarized. Accommodation was provided for fifteen hundred adults and four hundred children, at a cost, inclusive of the new Pulpit,¹ of about £2,500. The Church was reopened by Archbishop Sumner on September 7th, 1849.²

Nearly forty years did the noble Church continue in this unfinished state, when, under circumstances which called out the liberality as well as the artistic taste of a generation which was growing up to a higher appreciation of Church privileges as well as of Ecclesiastical adornment, it was decided to retrieve the errors, and to supply the deficiencies, of the past. The death of their late Vicar, Archdeacon Dealtry, who during the six years of his Incumbency had won the esteem and affection of the Parishioners, seemed to demand at their hands some substantial and lasting memorial. What, it was asked by one and another, could be a more

¹ This handsome oak Pulpit, of Perpendicular work, was removed some years after to make room for the present stone and marble one, and was transferred to Detling Church.

² So far as the funds admitted the work was well designed and carried out under a very rising young Architect, R. C. Carpenter, by whose early death the Ecclesiological world sustained a heavy loss.

fitting testimony of their grateful remembrance of his ministry than the completion of the Church in which he had ministered among them? His successor in the Vicarage, the Rev. E. F. Dyke, had happily a very hearty sympathy in such a work, and so it was resolved to appeal to the Parish and neighbourhood for funds to carry out this worthy object.

The appeal, issued early in 1883, was most readily responded to. Headed as it was by the munificent donation of £2,000 from Messrs. Hollingworth, of Turkey Mills, other leading Firms liberally followed suit; and a general interest in the good work spread rapidly. The first object was to make the restoration of the roof of the Nave the memorial to the late Vicar. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as representing the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was virtually the Rector of the Parish, recognized the Rectorial obligation, and gave £850 towards the restoration of the Chancel; a legacy of £250 (with interest for some years), under the Will of the late Mr. William Vaughan, a Builder of the town, was added; an offer was made by Mr. J. G. Smith, a native of Maidstone, but now resident at Surbiton, to restore at his own expense the two Aisles of the Chancel, "that on the South in memory of his parents, John and Sarah Smith, and that on the North in memory of William Vallance, M.A., Perpetual Curate of the Church from 1842 to 1854;" then came subscriptions and offerings of various amounts, from Nonconformists as well as Churchmen, until the total sum was raised, and the Church reopened in February 1886, just three years after the proposal was first entertained. The entire cost of this laudable undertaking may be calculated at £10,000, exclusive of the Architect's Commission.

Then rose the question of moving the Organ from its poor, makeshift position over the Vestry, and the very handsome

oak case which Messrs. Hollingworth had presented a few years before, from the Chancel arch which it so sadly obstructed. Between the East end of the South Aisle and the Vestry wall lay a vacant space, the width of one bay; this, closed in by extending the South Aisle, gave an admirable Organ Chamber, into which, at a cost of £800 more, the entire Organ itself, case and all, were moved, to the great advantage of the instrument itself no less than to the conspicuous improvement in the appearance of the Church.

Having thus traced the several stages through which the internal arrangements of the Church have passed, it becomes necessary to notice some minor details connected with it. Mention has been made of the desecrations perpetrated in the building by Fairfax's soldiers, and the ruthless sacrilege in which the blind fanaticism of those days of the Commonwealth seems to have rejoiced. It is refreshing to turn from these to actions which indicate the growth of a purer and a sounder spirit.

The Burghmote Records tell of the coming change in the feelings of the times. The days were gone by when the brasses were torn up from the tombs, when horses and men bivouacked within the sacred walls, when the very use of the name "Church"¹ was denounced as savouring of

¹ The following extract gives an instance of the use of this term: "Uppon a mocon (*sic*) now made at the desire of Mr. Crompe, the Minister of 'this Parish, that the libertie may be granted unto him of the use of the Scholehouse any Lord's daies in the Eveninge for the repeticon of the Sermons preached in the publique place uppon the Lord's daies and unto those as shall from time to time desir to partake thereof, And of other duties of piety at the same times, It is ordered that the said libertie be allowed for the purposes aforesaid. 3 July, 1654" (Burghmote Minutes, C.C., f. 72).

the hated Episcopacy, and the term "Publique Place" substituted for it. The tide had turned. A reaction had set in. The following entry, two years before the Restoration, indicates this:—

"It is ordered at this Courte (19 July, 1658) that the Chamberlyn of this Towne doe forthwith buy for the use of this Corporation a Greate Bible newly printed in the Easterne Languages [presumably in Greek], and likewise that he take order for a Lexicon of the said Languages, and Mr. Recorder is hereby desired to assist the said Chamberlyn in the procuringe of the said Book." A subsequent Order provides that the said Bible "be disposed of for publique use of such Ministers or others as have recourse to the same for their readinge and studyes, and for that end that it be for the present placed (untill further orders), in the Vestry Roome of the Parishh Church in some convenient Presse with shelves, and chayned in convenient manner; and that there be two keyes provided for the same Presse, one whereof to be left with the Minister for the time beinge, and the other with the Maior," etc.¹

But the Restoration once carried out, this spirit assumed more consistent form.² In order to give by their example a more open recognition of religious duties, the Corporation, in April 1663, passed an Order, "That the Jurats should attend the Maior from their houses to the Church to have Divine Service and Sermon every Sunday Morning and Afternoon in their gowns," etc., under a fine of one shilling for every absence.

¹ Burghmote Records, C.C., ff. 94, b; 96, b.

² One contribution now made to the Church vessels should be noticed. It was ordered that a "silver cup double gilt with a cover for the same in form of a salver for the use of the Parishioners at private Communion of the sick, be bought by the Churchwardens."

However, it would seem that in Maidstone, as generally throughout England, religious apathy and laxness crept in and marked the 18th Century. The fine imposed upon the Jurats for non-attendance at Church lost its force, or became a dead letter. And in the year 1758 it was considered necessary to enter a remonstrance—a mild one certainly, and not based on the highest motives—against an apparently general neglect on the part of the Corporation, to the effect: “That it was found necessary and expedient for the good order and government of the town and parish to sustain and preserve the dignity of the Corporation that some of the Jurats and Common Council-men attending the Mayor in their gowns to and from Divine Service on the Lord’s Day would greatly contribute thereto.” It was also further resolved that £50 a year should be added to the Mayor’s salary, “towards defraying the charges of keeping a decent table and entertaining at breakfast and dinner such of the Jurats and Common Council-men as shall from time to time attend and accompany the Mayor in their gowns to and from Divine Service, and other expences incident to that Office.”

The state of the Bells also attracted notice. Early in the 18th Century, when, as has been shown, the attempt was made to rearrange the seats in the Church, the Corporation turned their attention to the bells, and it was resolved in 1720 that they should be recast; but it is uncertain whether, if at all, or to what extent, this proposal was carried out; for before the end of that Century, namely in 1784, it was considered necessary to provide an entirely new peal,¹ at a cost of £800. But before that year had run its course, a very unfortunate display of utilitarian economy manifested itself, in the Resolution passed in the Council Chamber, that the

¹ Manufactured by Mears & Co., of Whitechapel.

ringing of the Curfew Bell in the winter was "useless and an expence to the Parish, and should be discontinued." And in the course of time the prohibition extended over the summer months as well; so that for many a long year neither in winter nor in summer has the sound of the "solemn Curfew" been heard in Maidstone. May it not be asked if this reflected credit on the ruling powers to abandon on the score of expense in a wealthy and important town like Maidstone a time-honoured historic custom, which has, it is believed, been maintained without interruption in the neighbouring private residence of Leeds Castle from the days of its institution at the Conquest?

The roof of the Church was also pronounced to be in a dangerous condition in 1788; and it was resolved that a new roof should be constructed, but with this stipulation, so painfully characteristic of the time—that it "be cieled."

An allusion to the decayed state of the roof calls for some mention of a great disaster which might have tended to cause it, and to the consequent effect on its external appearance.

With all its present renovated beauty the Church certainly lacks much of the dignity and importance it once possessed. When the Palace on the North was the frequent residence of Archbishops and their retinues, and the stately range of College buildings on the South was in its glory, in the midst of such an *entourage* the Church must have been a worthy centre of a goodly group, whether seen from the bridge below, or, still better, from the meadow across the river; its deeply buttressed and spire-topped Tower, rising up on the slightly elevated bank, still honoured by the name of "The Cliffe," picturesquely crowning the whole.

Now look at it from whatever point you will (except perhaps from the river front), and there will be produced on

the mind the impression that the Tower is disproportionately low. The high pitch of Nave and Aisles gives it a stunted and dwarfed appearance. This was not always the case. *It has lost its SPIRE*; which, though only composed of a stout wooden framework of oak, heavily cased with lead, tapering upwards to a height of above eighty feet, gave it a relief and a finish. On the Municipal seal, bearing date 1610, and preserved in the Museum, the Spire appears as an evidence that it existed nearly three hundred years ago; and a very rare print, by Bucke, shows that it was there so recently as the year 1722; but during a very violent thunderstorm in 1730 it was struck by lightning, the timber was ignited, the flames, fanned by the high wind, spread downwards till the frame was destroyed, and the molten lead, falling over the parapet of the Tower, broke through the roof of the South Aisle, and the roof of the Nave was in great danger; but by vigorous efforts of the townsmen the Church itself was saved.¹

The Maidstone of the middle of the last Century must, however, have lacked the public spirit and liberality of the present, or it would have replaced the Spire, or have substituted a more substantial one in its place.

To return to the interior of the Church. It must be admitted that the least interesting and satisfactory features of the Church, which with one or two exceptions are utterly unworthy of the noble building itself, are the Windows. Even the large painting which is divided between the six lights of the East window, although a masterly

¹ Full details of this disaster are given in Read's *Weekly Journal* of November 7th, 1730; and in Fog's *Weekly Journal* and *The Craftsman* of the same date.

specimen of the designing of J. B. Caproniere, of Brussels, has the grievous disadvantage of being one large picture cut into slices to fit into the spaces between the mullions; and consequently presents here in one light a hand, and there an arm belonging to a body in an adjoining compartment; while the spaces in the upper tracery are filled in with fanciful and often meaningless designs. The subject is "The Ascension," though no part of our Lord's body is visible. Still, what it may lack in art and arrangement is greatly supplied in the value of its associations, for it was a costly tribute to the memory of a highly respected and very influential Maidstone resident, having been "Erected to the Glory of God and in affectionate remembrance of Alexander Randall, of this Town, Banker, by his nephews Samuel and Richard Mercer, 1871. He was born January 6th, 1789. Died April 5th, 1870."

Nearly all the other windows, be it admitted, are of a very inferior character, judged by the taste and skill of the present day; they are unfortunate examples of that earlier stage in the revival of the art of stained glass, when crudeness of design and hardness of colouring were the conspicuous defects in work produced in some even of the best studios of half a Century ago.

The East windows in the two Chancel Aisles are the production of Wailes of Newcastle, each to the memory of a John Mercer, father and son, both connected with the Kentish Bank: that in the North Aisle represents the Angel announcing the Birth of the Saviour to the Shepherds, that in the South the visit of the Magi to Bethlehem.

In the South Aisle of the Church all the windows, excepting a small two-light one beyond the Tower door, are also by Wailes. The first from the East end, "To the Memory of her

beloved husband Frederick Charles Griffiths, Major General, and late Commandant in this town, placed by his sorrowing widow, 1859," appropriately tells the story of Cornelius. In the first compartment a soldier kneeling in prayer; in the second, an Angel coming to him; in the next, Peter baptizing him; and in the last, his whole family, with "a devout soldier" in the background, pressing forward for baptism.

The second window, illustrating the Parable of the Good Samaritan, commemorates two generations of the Cutbush family. "In Memory of Thomas and Elizabeth Cutbush, Robert their son, and Elizabeth his wife, by their son and brother, Thomas Robert Cutbush, 1859."

The third is emblematic of that of the Good Shepherd. The first compartment represents some sheep coming out of a fold; the second, the Shepherd Himself; the third, an Angel; and the last, the state of the Millennium, a little child walking unharmed among lions and serpents. This is "To the Memory of Thomas and Ann Edmett, by their son Thomas Edmett, 1859."

Next to this comes a small two-light window, the first inserted in the Church, representing "the Burial" and "the Resurrection," by Messrs. Powell. It is "In Memory of Nina Patry Carr; born Feb. 1, 1837; died Sept. 29, 1856."¹

Another small window beyond the Tower door contains representations of the Passing of the Red Sea, and our Lord's Baptism in Jordan, "In Memory of John and Jane Stephens by their surviving sons, 1887."²

¹ She was the sister of the Rev. Thomas Arnold Carr, then Curate of the Church, subsequently Vicar of Cranbrook, and now of Marden.

² The Church also possesses a Memento of another member of this family in a handsome set of brass Altar-rails with rich open work foliage, "In Loving Memory of John Beeching Stephens, placed here by his widow, Annie Stephens, A.D. 1886."

At the West end of this Aisle now appears a large window representing the "Adoration of the Shepherds;" it originally stood at its East end, but was removed to make room for the new Organ-Chamber in the recent alterations. It is "To the Memory of Philip Corrall¹ and Mrs. Ann Carter, his sister, by their friend Alexander Randall, 1859."

On the North side the central window in the Chancel Aisle is to the memory of the Thomas Edmett who had erected that to his father and mother on the opposite side of the Church. As a work of art and taste, and in the grouping of the several subjects, this is far superior to any of those yet noticed. It is the production of Lavers and Westlake. The Central light represents the Miracle of the Pentecost. In the first, on the left, St. Peter being led out of prison; in the next, the Apostle raising Æneas; in the first on the right, St. Peter and St. John healing the lame man at the gate of the Temple; and in the last, St. Paul preaching at Athens. Under each is an appropriate scroll, while the spaces in the upper tracery are filled in with figures of Angels playing on different instruments. It is inscribed "To the Glory of God and to the Memory of Thomas Edmett, 14 Oct., 1871, erected by his cousin E. A. Paine."

The next window represents incidents connected with the Resurrection. In the side-lights the soldiers stand appalled, and the women and the Apostles are seen hastening to the Sepulchre; while the central light would rather suggest our Lord sitting on His Judgment-Throne. This is also by Wailes, and is "To the Memory of Charles Mercer, who died at Cairo March 15, 1861."

At the East end of the North Aisle of the Church is a window without any definite design, but a mass of dazzlingly

¹ He had been partner with Mr. Randall in the Kentish Bank.

highly coloured diaper work and scroll tracery. It is "To the Memory of John Arkcoll, obiit July 24, 1857."

The last to be described is the one recently introduced into the Church and commonly known as "the Soldiers' Window," as being "dedicated by their surviving Comrades to the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the old 50th and XCVIth (now called the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the West Kent Regiment), who fell in the Egyptian and Soudan Campaigns of 1882-86." It is also from the studio of Lavers and Westlake, and deserves far more detailed description.

In three of the four upper portions are representations of what may be termed "Warrior Saints"—St. Maurice, the brave Roman Centurion who in the 3rd Century instigated his comrades of the Theban Legion to refuse to offer sacrifice to the gods, and with his whole legion was slaughtered by command of the Emperor Maximian¹; St. Michael the Archangel, the legendary Champion of Christendom; and St. George, the Patron Saint of England; while the fourth space contains the figure of the Virgin, under the title of St. Mary: her position in such company may be accounted for by the Church having been originally dedicated to St. Mary, or may have been suggested by the prophetic words addressed to her by the aged Simeon, "A sword shall pierce through thine own heart also." In the centre portions of each light are four scenes from our Lord's life—"the Marriage Feast," "the Roman Centurion pleading on behalf of his sick servant," "Christ giving sight to the blind man," and "the raising of Lazarus." Under these runs a canopied arcade, in which are arranged, two and two, eight figures of men and women, who, by the saintliness of their lives,

¹ Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, etc., chapter xvi. (Ed. 1827), vol. ii., p. 454. n.

were deemed worthy of canonization, either for their devotion or their munificence, and thus obtained places in the Saxon Hagiology in connection with this County. In the first light appears St. Ethelbert, the Saxon King of Kent who received Augustine ; and by his side his Christian Queen, St. Bertha, who was so instrumental in his conversion. In the next St. Augustine himself, who brought the Gospel to the heathen Saxons of Kent ; and with him St. Alwyn, of whose identity there is grave doubt, for three bishops who bore that name were canonized for their good deeds, but none of them had any special connection with this County. Then comes Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, undoubtedly worthy of a place among Kentish worthies, for though a foreigner—like St. Paul, he was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia—he became “the parent of Anglo-Saxon literature,” and first introduced the Diocesan system into England, and the germ of the Parochial system into Kent ; by his side stands Mildred, the daughter of King Egbert of Kent, who was the first Abbess of the Convent at Minster in the Isle of Thanet, which her father had founded. And in the last compartment appears St. Thomas of Canterbury (Becket), who was murdered in his own Cathedral, a victim of his zeal in resisting the aggressions of Henry II. over the supposed rights of the Church ; while by his side is St. Earcongotha, a daughter of another Saxon King of Kent, though her presence here seems difficult to be accounted for, as she became Prioress of a Convent in Normandy, and seemingly had no direct connection, save by birth, with this County.

The lower compartments contain the crests, mottoes, and emblems of the two original corps. In the outer ones are the White Horse and “Invicta,” the emblem and motto of the County ; while the second displays the long roll of

victories belonging to the colours of the old 50th, and the third the Roman numerals of the XCVIIth, and the motto, "Quo fas et gloria ducunt" (where duty and glory lead). Underneath the whole runs the text so suggestive of the trials the Regiment endured in the Soudan: "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat."

Nor is it only in this window that the achievements of the Regiment are recorded. The old colours themselves—their "banners riven"—have found here a worthy and fitting resting-place; the scrolls still visible to tell of the more recent victories; which are thus recorded on brass plates at the foot of the standards; that on the North pier, containing those of the 50th, bears this inscription: "These Colours were borne by the 50th, 'The Queen's Own,' Regiment, from the 18th of July 1848 to the 5th of November 1863. They were carried during the Crimean Campaign, being present in the Battles of Alma, Inkerman, and the Siege and Fall of Sevastopol. Deposited in this Church on the 1st of May 1886." On the opposite pier, under those of the XCVIIth, the record runs thus: "These Colours were presented to the XCVIIth Regiment by General Sir W. Codrington, K.C.B., at Aldershot on the 14th July 1857, and were carried by the Regiment during the Indian Mutiny in the Actions of Nusrutpore, Chanda, Ameerapore, Sultanpore, and afterwards at the Siege and Capture of Lucknow under Sir Colin Campbell.¹ Deposited in this Church on All Saints Day 1883."

These weather-beaten and shot-riddled fragments of flags, drooping down on either side of the Font, are telling with rare eloquence how they have waved over many a brave

¹ Afterwards Lord Clyde.

soldier as he was passing through his baptism of blood on the distant battle-field.

May the writer, in bringing his History of the grand old Church to a close, indulge in a personal reminiscence? He was present when those Colours were deposited here, and noticed, he will confess not without something like soldier-hearted emotion, that, when, at the close of the solemn service, the Regiment passed out and filed by, there rolled down the face of more than one veteran a manly tear as he made his last salute to those familiar Colours under which he had fought, and perhaps bled.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A (1). See page 3.

EXTRACT from DOMESDAY-BOOK, folio 3, a. 2. The expansions are included in brackets, [] :—

“Ipse Archiep[iscopu]s ten[et] MEDDESTANE. Pro X solins se def[endi]t. T[er]ra e[st] XXX car[ucarum]. In d[omi]n[i]o sunt IIJ car[ucaræ], et XXV vill[an]i cu[m] XXI bord[ariis], hab[en]t XXV car[ucas]. Ibi Eccl[esi]a, et X servi, et V molin[i] de XXXVJ solid[is] et VIIJ den[ariis]. Ibi IJ piscariæ de CCLXX anguill[is]. Ibi X ac[ræ] p[ra]ti. Silva XXX porc[orum].

“De hoc M[anerio] ten[ent] de Archiep[iscop]o IIJ Milit[es] IIIJ solins. Et ibi h[abe]nt IIJ, ca[rucas] et dim[idium] in d[omi]nio ; Et XXXIJ vill[an]os cu[m] X bord[ariis] h[abe]ntes VI car[ucas]. Et X serv[os]. Et h[abe]nt I molin[um] de V solid[is]. Et XIIJ ac[ras] p[ra]ti. Et IJ piscar[ias] et dimid[ium] CLXXX anguill[is]. Et IJ salin[as]. Silva[m] XXIIJ porc[orum].

“In totis valent[iis] T.R.E. val[ebat] hoc M[anerium] XXIIJ lib[ras]. Q[uan]do recep[it] XIJ lib[ras]. Et m[odo] d[omi]nium Archiep[iscop]i val[et] XX lib[ras]. Militum XV lib[ras] et X sol[idos]. Monachi Cantuar[ienses] h[abe]nt omni anno de duob[us] ho[m]i[ni]bus hujus M[anerii] XX sol[idos].”

The above may be thus freely rendered in English :—

“The Archbishop himself holds Meddestane. It answers for [is

rated at]¹ ten *sulings*. There is [arable] land of thirty *ploughs*. In demesne there are three *ploughs*, and twenty-five *villans*, with twenty-one *bordars*, have twenty-five *ploughs*. There is a Church, and ten servants [*serfs*], and five mills of thirty-six shillings and eightpence. There are two fisheries of two hundred and seventy eels. There are ten acres of meadow land, and woodland with pannage for thirty hogs.

"Of this Manor three knights hold four *sulings* from the Archbishop, and have there three *ploughs* and a half in demesne, and thirty-two *villans* with ten *bordars* having six *ploughs*, and ten *serfs*. And they have one [*molinum*] mill for five shillings, and thirteen acres of meadow, and two fisheries and a half, of one hundred and eighty eels. Two [*salinæ*] salt-works; and wood for twenty-three hogs.

"In total value this Manor was worth in the time of King Edward.[the Confessor] fourteen pounds. When he [Archbishop Lanfranc] received it, twelve pounds; and now the demesne of the Archbishop is worth twenty pounds; that of the Knights fifteen pounds and ten shillings; the Monks of [Christ Church] Canterbury have twenty shillings every year from two men in this Manor."²

¹ The expression "*se defendit*" may be rendered "in self-defence." It represents the sum at which each landowner was assessed to the King under the head of *Danegeld*, either as payment of tribute to the invading Danes, or to defend himself and his country against their invasions.

² A few words may be added in explanation of the terms here used. The *servi* (serfs) and the *villani* (villeins, so called, as it is supposed, from being grouped in villages) may perhaps be thus distinguished from each other; while both represent a very low class of dependants, the former are attached rather to the person, the latter to the land, of their owners. The *bordarii* (bordars) were clearly a better class of labourers, occupying cottages, from the Saxon word "bord," a boarded or wooden hut, a cottage; in some parts of England called *cottarii*. Some Antiquaries find a subsidiary derivation for the name in the assumption that part of the tenure of their cottage involved the supply to their Lord of poultry, eggs, and other small provisions for his board. A *caruca* is supposed to represent as much land as a plough, with a team of four yokes or pairs of oxen (hence the name, derived from *quatuor*), could ordinarily till in the course of a year. Then the existence of one or more *molina* (mills), whether worked by wind or by water, enhanced the value of a Manor; while *salinæ*, or salt-works, formed no inconsiderable addition to it. The mills and salt-works were generally the property of the Lord of the Manor.

APPENDIX A (2). See page 4.

THE MONASTIC DOMESDAY-BOOK, as it is called, to distinguish it from the other, is preserved in the Chapter Library at Canterbury, and contains the substance of the entries in the *King's Domesday*, so far as the possessions of the Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, are concerned. It is printed in Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, App. SS., xiiij: "Maideſtane eſt proprium Manerium Archiepiſcopi, et in T.E.R. ſe defendebat pro X ſull'. Et ex iis tenet Radulphus unum ſull' quod eſt apretiatum Is. Et Willielmus frater Epiſcopi Gundulfi IJ ſull', et ſunt apretiat' X libr. Et Anſcitellus de Roſ unum ſull', quod eſt apretiatum LXs. Et duo homines habent inde I ſull', qui reddunt Altari Sanctæ Trinitatis¹ XVJs, et jam valet illud ſull' XXs. Hoc Manerium habet hundret am in ſeiſpo."

APPENDIX A (3). See page 4.

MANDATE FOR A SYNOD to be held at Maidstone in 1351, issued by Archbishop Simon Islip, Register, f. 50. Printed in Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 13:—

"Simon, &c., dilecto filio Commissario nostro Cantuariensi Generali, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.

"Quia super quibusdam negotiis nobis per Sedem Apostolicam transmissis, cum dilectis nobis in Christo filiis Abbatibus, Prioribus, Archidiacono nostro Cantuariensi, Capitulis, Conventibus, Collegiis, et Clero nostrarum civitatum et Diocesis Cant. exemptis et non exemptis, deliberationem habere intendimus & tractatum; vobis committimus et mandamus, quatenus citetis seu citari faciatis peremptorie Abbates, Priores, Archidiaconum nostrum Cant., Capitula, Conventus, Collegia, et Clerum civitatum Diocesis predictarum, exemptos et non exemptos, quod compareant coram nobis, vel nostris Commissariis, in Ecclesia Parochiali de Maideſtan, die Jovis proxima post Festum Sancti Laurentii; dicti viz. Abbates, Priories, et Archidiaconus personaliter, et

¹ Down to the middle of the 13th Century the Mother-Church of Canterbury was commonly known as the "Church of the Holy Trinity."

quodlibet Capitulorum, Conventuum, Collegiorum, Clerus etiam nostrarum civitatum et Diocesis predictarum, per unum Procuratorem sufficientem et idoneum, super contentis in dictis literis Apostolicis, ac aliis ipsas literas contingentibus, una nobiscum seu cum Commissariis nostris, si impediti fuerimus, tractaturi suumque super hiis, que ibidem ordinari contigerit, consensum prebituri pariter et assensum, facturique ulterius et recepturi quod hujusmodi negotiorum qualitas exigit et natura. Et quid feceritis in premissis nos vel nostris Commissariis dictis die et loco certificetis per literas vestras patentes, harum seriem et citatorum nomina in schedula literis vestris certificatoriis annectanda plenarie continentes. Datum apud Maghfield vi Idus Julii, Anno Domini 1351, et consecrationis nostre secundo."

APPENDIX A (4). See page 13.

CHARTER OF RICHARD II., granting Archbishop Courtenay license to convert the Parochial Church of St. Mary into a Collegiate Church. Pat. Roll, 19 Ric. II., Part I., m. 11. (Public Record Office):—

"Ricardus Dei Gratia Rex Anglie, et Francie, et Dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cum venerabilis in Christo pater Gulielmus de Courtenay, Totius Anglie Primas, et Apostolice Sedis Legatus, consanguineus noster carissimus, devotionis fervore succensus, cupiens intime et desiderans cultum Divinum ampliare pariter et augere, Ecclesiam Parochialem Beate Marie de Maidenstone, suorum patronatus et Diocesis, in quoddam Collegium, nostra mediante licentia, erigere intendat et fundare, Nos, attendentes propositum ipsius Archiepiscopi in hac parte meritorium et salubre, ac debite considerantes grata et laudabilia ac fructuosa obsequia nobis et regno nostro per ipsum Archiepiscopum multipliciter impensa; volentesque proinde, ac propter specialem affectionem quam ad personam suam, suis exigentibus meritis, gerimus, et habemus, ipsum Archiepiscopum super pia intentione sua in premissis favore prosequi gratiose; et ut nos operis tam meritorii præmiis participemus, de gratia nostra speciali, et ex certa scientia

nostra, concessimus et licentiam dedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, eidem Archiepiscopo quod ipse dictam Ecclesiam Parochialem Beate Marie de Maidenstone, de patronatu suo existentem, in quoddam Collegium erigere; et Collegium illud de uno Magistro, sive Custode, ac tot Sociis Capellanis et aliis ministris, Deo in eodem Collegio servituris, quot eidem Archiepiscopo secundum discretionem suam melius videbitur expedire, fundare, facere, et stabilire valeat pro perpetuo, juxta ordinationem suam in hac parte faciendam.

“Concessimus etiam, de gratia nostra speciali, et ex certa scientia nostra, et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eidem Archiepiscopo, quod ipse advocationem et patronatum predictæ Ecclesiæ Parochialis, ac Capellarum eidem annexarum, qui [? que] de nobis tenentur in capite, ut dicitur, dare possit, et assignare predicto Magistro sive Custodi et Sociis suis Capellanis ejusdem Collegii, et successoribus suis Magistris sive Custodibus ac Sociis suis Capellanis ejusdem Collegii, cum sic fundatum fuerit, habenda et tenenda eidem Magistro sive Custodi et Sociis suis Capellanis dicti Collegii, et successoribus suis Magistris sive Custodibus ac Sociis suis Capellanis ejusdem Collegii, de prefato Archiepiscopo et successoribus suis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosynam imperpetuum. Et eidem Magistro sive Custodi et Sociis suis Capellanis, quod ipsi advocationem et patronatum Ecclesiæ predictæ et Capellarum eidem annexarum a prefato Archiepiscopo recipere et Ecclesiam illam cum eisdem Capellis appropriare, et eam sic appropriatam in proprios usus tenere possint, &c., &c., in subventionem sustentationis sue imperpetuum tenore presentium similiter licentiam dedimus specialem.

“Concessimus insuper, de uberiori gratia nostra, et ex certa scientia nostra, et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris, eidem Archiepiscopo quod ipse Hospitale Apostolorum Petri et Pauli “Novi Operis” de Maydenstone, ac omnia, terras, tementa, redditus, servicia, et possessiones ejusdem Hospitalis, cum pertinentiis, necnon advocaciones et patronatus Ecclesiarum de Suttone, Lillintone, et Farlegh, dicto Hospitali appropriatarum, de patronatu nostro existentes; que quidem, Hospitale, advocaciones, et patronatus, de nobis similiter tenentur in capite (ut

dicitur), dare possit et assignare predictis Magistro sive Custodi et Sociis suis Capellanis dicti Collegii, habenda et tenenda sibi et successoribus suis, de predicto Archiepiscopo et successoribus suis, in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosynam imperpetuum. Et similiter quod idem Archiepiscopus predictum Hospitale ac omnia, terras, tenementa, redditus, servicia et possessiones ejusdem Hospitalis, cum pertinentiis, prefatis Magistro sive Custodi, et Sociis suis Capellanis, ac Collegio predicto, in maiorem subventionem eorundem, unire, incorporare, et annectare valeat. Quodque dicte Ecclesie de Suttone, Lillintone, et Farlegh, licite transferri valeant, in et ad predictos Magistrum sive Custodem, et Socios suos Capellanos, ac Collegio predicto melioribus modo et forma quibus fieri poterit imperpetuum; seu alias quod unio, appropriatio et incorporatio dictarum Ecclesiarum de Suttone, Lillintone, et Farlegh, terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, serviciorum, et possessionum Hospitalis, predicti eidem Hospitali antea facte penitus dissolvantur. Et predictis Magistro sive Custodi et Sociis suis Capellanis dicti Collegii et successoribus suis, ac Collegio suo predicto de novo approprientur, amortizentur, uni-antur, et incorporentur; habenda in eorum proprios usus juxta ordinationem ipsius Archiepiscopi in hac parte similiter faciendam imperpetuum.

“Et eisdem Magistro sive Custodi et Sociis suis Capellanis dicti Collegii, quod ipsi dictum Hospitale, ac omnia, terras, tenementa, redditus, servicia, et possessiones ejusdem cum pertinentiis, ac advocationes dictarum Ecclesiarum de Suttone, Lillintone, et Farlegh, a prefato Archiepiscopo in forma predicta recipere; et Hospitale predictum, ac terras, tenementa redditus, servicia, et possessiones hujusmodi cum pertinentis, ac Ecclesias illas Hospitali predicto sic unita, annexa, translata, et incorporata, sive easdem Ecclesias de novo incorporatas, sibi et successoribus suis in proprios usus, habere et tenere valeant in imperpetuum, sicut predictum est, similiter licentiam dedimus per presentes; dumtamen elemosine pauperibus in Hospitali predicto solvi consue- ibidem futuris temporibus continue sustententur. Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito, aut quibuscunque aliis statutis in contrarium editis; seu eo quod

advocationes et patronatus dictarum Ecclesie Parochialis de Maydenstone et Capellarum eidem annexarum; ac dictarum Ecclesiarum de Suttone, Lillintone, et Farlegh, sint parcella fundationis Archiepiscopatus predicti, aut parcella temporalium ejusdem Archiepiscopatus, de fundatione progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Anglie et nostro patronatu existentum; seu eo quod advocationes et patronatus predicti de nobis tenentur in capite, sicut predictum est, aut aliquibus.

“Nolentes quod predictus Archiepiscopus vel successores sui, aut prefatus Magister sive Custos et Socii sui Capellani dicti Collegii, seu eorum successores predicti, ratione statuti predicti seu aliquorum aliorum premissorum, per nos vel heredes nostros, Justiciarios, Escatores, Vicecomites, aut alios Ballivos, seu ministros nostros quoscunque, inde occasionantur, molestentur, in aliquo, seu gravantur.

“In cujus rei, Teste Rege me ipso apud Castrum nostrum de Ledes secundo die Augusti anno regni nostri decimo nono.

“Per breve de Privato Sigillo.”

APPENDIX A (5). See page 14.

THE BULL OF POPE BONIFACE IX., by which he sanctions the project of Archbishop Courtenay for converting the Parish Church of Maidstone into a Collegiate Church, endowed with revenues capable of supporting twenty-four members. Given *in extenso* in Dr. J. Brigstocke Sheppard's valuable *Litteræ Cantuarienses*, vol. iii., p. 43, *et seq.* :—

“COPIA BULLE DOMINI BONIFACII IXⁱ QUAM PERQUISIVIT DOMINUS
W. COURTENAY CANTUARIENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPUS, PRO FUNDATIONE COLLEGII OMNIUM SANCTORUM DE MAYDYSTON.

“Bonifacius servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Willelmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, salutem, et Apostolicam benedictionem. Humilibus et honestis supplicum votis, illis presertim per que divinus cultus augeri valeat, libenter annuimus, illaque favoribus prosequimur opportunis. Exhibita siquidem nobis nuper

pro parte tua petitio, continebat quod tu, de propria salute recogitans, et cupiens transitoria in eterna, et terrena in cœlestia felici conversione commutare, ad ejusdem cultus augmentum, parochialem ecclesiam de Maydeston, tue Cantuariensis diœcesis, cujus fructus et redditus et proventus ducentarum marcarum sterlingorum secundum communem estimationem valorem annuum, ut asseris, non excedit, in collegiatam erigere, et inibi collegium unius Magistri, qui curam dilectorum filiorum parochianorum ejusdem ecclesie exercere pro tempore teneatur, ac caput ejusdem Collegii existat, necnon Capellanorum et Clericorum usque ad viginti quatuor personarum, vel alium de quo tibi videbitur numerum, instituere, ipsamque ecclesiam tam sufficienter dotare, de bonis ratione persone tue ad te pertinentibus, ac etiam unicuique per te licite acquisitis et acquirendis, desideras; quod computatis illis, ac etiam prædictis fructibus, redditibus, et proventibus, ejusdem ecclesie Magister, Capellani, et Clerici predicti, cum personis ad ipsorum et dicte ecclesie obsequia necessariis, potuerint decenter pro tempore sustentari, ac incumbentia eis onera supportari. Quare pro parte tua nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut tibi dictam ecclesiam in collegiatam erigendi, et inibi Collegium hujusmodi instituendi, licenciam concedere, et alias in premissis salubriter providere, de speciali gratia dignaremur; Nos igitur, qui eundem cultum augeri intensius desideramus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, tibi ut cedente vel decedente filio Rectore ejusdem ecclesie qui nunc est, vel alias etiam ipsam quomodolibet dimittente, dummodo eorum quorum interest ad id accedat assensus, absque prejudicio et onere matricis Ecclesie, necnon cujuscumque alterius; predictam Parochialem Ecclesiam et Collegiatam erigendi, et inibi hujusmodi Collegium faciendi pro uno Magistro et totidem Capellanis et Clericis usque ad predictum viginti quatuor, seu alium de quo tibi videbitur numerum, ut premittitur, instituendi, et etiam hujusmodi fructus, redditus, et proventus, ejusdem Parochialis Ecclesie, de hujusmodi ad te, ratione persone tue spectantibus, necnon bonis aliis per te unicuique acquisitis et etiam acquirendis licite, tamen, ut prefertur, augendi, adeo quod ipsi Magister, ac Capellani, et Clerici, quos, usque ad hujusmodi viginti quatuor

seu alium de quo tibi videbitur numerum, in ipsa parochiali ecclesia institueris, decenter vivere, necnon hujusmodi onera eis incumbentia congrue supportare possint et¹ debeant; ac etiam statuendi et ordinandi ea que circa hujusmodi collegium statuenda et ordinanda fuerint; ac etiam modum vivendi ipsorum Magistri, Capellanorum, et Clericorum, similiter per te statuendi et ordinandi, tenore presentium, plenam et liberam, auctoritate apostolica, concedimus facultatem. Volumus etiam, et auctoritate predicta de uberioris dono gratie decernimus, quod si eandem Parochialem Ecclesiam in Collegiatam erigi, et hujusmodi viginti quatuor seu alium de quo tibi videbitur numerum, institui per te contingat, ut prefertur, Magister pro tempore ejusdem ecclesie, per te in Collegiatam erigende, quodcunque aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum, etiam si dignitas personatus, vel officium cum cura vel sine cura, in Metropolitana, vel Cathedrali, aut Collegiata ecclesiis fuerit, et etiam si requirat personalem residentiam juratam, alias si canonice conferatur recipere, illudque cum magistratu ejusdem ecclesie per te in collegiatam erigende, ut prefertur, retinere, ac fructus, redditus, et proventus, ipsius beneficii, in eadem Ecclesia per te in Collegiatam erigendam, ut prefertur, residendo, cum ea integritate, cotidianis distributionibus duntaxat exceptis, percipere, cum qua illos perciperet si in beneficio seu ecclesia hujusmodi in qua dictum beneficium forsitan fuerit pro tempore personaliter resideret, illosque personis de quibus sibi videbitur, arrentare² aut [ad³] firmam concedere libere et licite pro tempore valeat; diocesani loci aut cujuscumque alterius super hoc consensu seu licencia minime requisitis. Quodque ad residendum in beneficio, seu ecclesia hujusmodi in qua dictum beneficium forsitan fuerit, pro tempore minime teneatur, nec ad id, invitus, a quoquam valeat coartari; felicitis recordationis Bonifacii Pape octavi predecessoris nostri, ac generalis Consilii, ac aliis apostolicis et provincialibus et sinodalibus constitutionibus, necnon statutis et consuetudinibus ipsius ecclesie in qua hujusmodi beneficium forsitan fuerit, contrariis, juramento, confirmatione apostolica, vel quacumque firmitate alia roboratis, non obstantibus quibuscumque; et insuper exnunc irritum decernimus et inane si secus

¹ ut?² arrendare, MS.³ ad, om. MS.

super hiis a quoquam, quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contigerit attemptari.¹ Nulli ergo omnium hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis voluntatis et constitutionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire, si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum vij^o kalendas Julii pontificatus nostri anno sexto."² (25 July, A.D. 1395.)

APPENDIX B (1). See page 34.

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHBISHOP COURTENAY'S WILL.

EXCERPTA ex Testamento Wilielmi Courtenay, Cant. Archiep.³ (Archiv. C.C. Cantuar. Registr., G., f. 258):—

"Volo quod Corpus meum sepeliatur in Navi Cathedralis Ecclesie Cathedralis Exoniensis, in loco ubi nunc jacent tres Decani seriatim coram summa cruce. Volo quod Episcopus loci me sepeliat, nisi venerit Archiepiscopus Eboracensis. . . . Volo quod illi tres Decani qui remoti erunt ratione sepulture mee in aliquo alio loco honorifico Ecclesie ejusdem sepeliantur meis omnino sumptibus et expensis."

After giving minute details as to the manner of his burial, he proceeds:—

"Volo quod pro anima mea, &c., &c., quindecim millia Missarum celebrentur. Item volo quod duo millia Matutinarum dicantur."

¹ *attemptare*, MS.

² The Papal Bull is followed in the Register by the formal ratification of the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, and by a bond given by John Wotton, the first Master of the new College, securing to the Prior and Chapter an annuity of two hundred marks during the life of one Guy Mone, a clerk. The *consideration* given in exchange for this annuity is not stated, but a second bond follows, in which the Prior and Chapter acknowledge themselves bound to pay the same sum yearly to Guy Mone for the term of his life.

³ This Will is more fully given in Battely's Edition of Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, Appendix to the Supplement, No. XIII.

Then follow above a hundred legacies of money, vestments, books, &c., &c., among which occur the following :—

“Lego insuper et relinquo metuendissime Majestati vestre ipsius devotissimam servitricem atque oratricem, carissimam et unicam sororem meam, Daugayne, supplicans humiliter et devote, quatenus eandem in hac valle miserie sub alis excellentissime protectionis vestre custodire, fovere, atque protegere dignemini, &c., &c. Item lego predictæ sorori mee CC. libr. et modicum Missale meum, &c. Item lego eidem Altare meum de albo panno cerico stragulato, una cum tabula Domini mei de Islep, &c. Item lego Domino Philippo Fratri meo xl libr., &c. Lego Domino Petro Fratri meo xl libr., &c. Lego sorori mee Domine Anne de Courtenay xx libr. Lego carissimo filio et alumpno meo Ricardo Courtenay, C marcas absque aliqua condicione; Item lego eidem, in casu quo clericus esse velit, et ad sacerdotium promoveri, librum meum Dictionarium in tribus voluminibus contentum, et optimam Mitram in casu quo fuerit Episcopus, &c., pro tempore vite sue, et volo quod post mortem suam, vel si, quod absit, ad mundum redierit, quod omnes predicti Libri Sancte Ecclesie Cantuariensi per modum legati remaneant, &c. Lego filiolo meo Willelmo Courtenay, filio fratris mei Domini Philippi, C marcas, &c.”

Then, after a number of additional legacies, he closes his Will thus :—

“Ordino et facio executores meos dilectissimum in Christo filium Thomam Chillenden, Priorem mee Ecclesie Cantuariensis; Magistrum Adam de Mottrum, Archidiaconum meum; Dominum Guidonem Mone, Rectorem Ecclesie de Maydestone; Johannem Frenyngham, Armigerum; Dominum Willelmum Baunton, Rectorem Ecclesie de Harwe; Johannem Dodyngton, Rectorem Ecclesie de Crukern; Magistrum Robertum Hallum, Rectorem Ecclesie de Northfleete; et Dominum Johannem Wotton, Rectorem Ecclesie de Stapleherst.”

The following Codicil, or Memorandum, was drawn up no doubt at his dictation by a friend at his bedside within two days of his death :—

“Reverendissimus Pater languens in extremis (28 die Julii) in interiori camera manerii de Maydeston, voluit et ordinavit quod

quia non reputavit se dignum, ut dixit, in sua Metropolitana aut aliqua Cathedrali aut Collegiata Ecclesia sepeliri, voluit et elegit sepulturam suam in Cimiterio Ecclesie Collegiate de Maydeston in loco designato Johanni Botelere Armigero suo.

“Item voluit quod debita sua solventur, et quod legata sua scripta in Testamento prescripto, quoad familiares, solventur, quoad extraneos legatarios defalcarentur juxta discretionem executorum suorum; quodque residuum bonorum suorum remanens, ultra debita et legata, expenderetur juxta dispositionem executorum suorum circa constructionem Ecclesie Collegiate de Maydeston.”

APPENDIX B (2). See page 41.

THE Inscription which, according to Weever (*Funerall Monuments*, p. 257), ran round the edge of Archbishop Courtenay's Tomb in his time (A.D. 1630) was as follows:—

“Nomine Willelmus, en, Courtnaius reverendus,
 Qui se post obitum legaverat hic tumulandum,
 In presenti loco quem jam fundarat ab imo,
 Omnibus et Sanctis titulo sacravit honoris:
 Ultima lux Julii fit vite terminus illi,
 M ter C quinto decies nonoque sub anno.
 Respice mortalis, quis quondam, sed modo talis,
 Quantus et iste fuit dum membra calentia gessit.
 Hic Primas patrum, Cleri Dux, et genus altum,
 Corpore valde decens, sensus et acumine clarens.
 Filius hic Comitis generosi Devoniensis,
 Legum Doctor erat celebris, quem fama serenat.
 Urbs Herdfordensis, polis inclita Londoniensis,
 Ac Doroburnensis, sibi trine gloria sedis,
 Detur honor, fit Cancellarius ergo.
 Sanctus ubique pater, prudens fuit ipse minister,
 Nam largus, letus, castus, pius, atque pudicus,
 Magnanimus, justus, et egenis totus amicus.
 Et quia, Rex, Christi pastor bonus extitit iste,
 Sumat solamen nunc tecum quesumus. Amen.”

Although the opinions and arguments *pro* and *con* bearing on this much-disputed point of Archbishop Courtenay's real burial-place have been already stated at considerable length (see pp. 33-45), it may be well to append here some fuller quotations

from Dr. Denne's communications to the Antiquarian world. The *Archæologia*, vol. x., p. 272, contains a long statement of the investigation Dr. Denne had made into the existing evidence on either side—his examination of the real value of Somner's discovery of Leiger Book, etc. This learned Paper appeared in the Antiquarian Society's Journal in May 1788. Yet it did not suffice to remove the doubts of Gough and his brother Antiquaries, who still clung to the hitherto accepted dogma in favour of Canterbury. So Dr. Denne, very strong in his own convictions, seized the opportunity, which his brother's position at Maidstone afforded him six years after, of applying the crucial test of a personal examination of the Tomb itself. He then communicated the result in the form of a Letter to his still hesitating, if not sceptical friend, which Letter Gough gave to the world in his *Sepulchral Monuments* (vol. ii., p. cxl), and then accompanied it with an acknowledgment of his own conversion to his friend's views.

A copy of that Letter in MS. is preserved among the collected Notes by C. T. Smythe (vol. ii., f. 120) in the Maidstone Museum, and no apology is needed for introducing it here *in extenso*.

“WILMINGTON, March 14, 1794.

“DEAR SIR,—In compliance with your request I at length transmit to you the promised notes with remarks on the opening the ground under the Tombstone of Archbishop Courtenay, in the Chancel of Maidstone Church. The delay has been partly occasioned by a willingness to learn from Mr. Cherry, who was an attentive inspector, how far his observations concurred with my own; and from his report, confirmed by another gentleman present, I may venture to assure you that the circumstances are accurately stated.

“As from the stones being raised a few inches above the pavement a sufficient number of benches could not be properly arranged for the accommodation of the children of the Sunday School, it was judged expedient to place it on the same level; and it being necessary to take up the stone, in order to carry off the superfluous earth, you will not be surprised that curiosity should

prompt to a deeper search with the view of ascertaining whether the Archbishop was really there deposited, as the Inscription, aided by tradition, strongly implies; and it was the united opinion of the examiners, founded on what they saw, that this was the case, and consequently the tale of the body having been conveyed to Canterbury by the King's command was fabricated by the Monks of the Priory of Christ Church, for the purpose of supporting, as they conceived, the credit and dignity of the Cathedral.

"Bones of persons of different ages, lying in all directions, were found from one to four feet in depth under the stone; and as in digging graves on either side of the stone, which has been often done, particularly on the North side, the earth from under the stone had fallen in, and the vacancy been supplied with mould and bones indiscriminately thrown up, this will account for the position of such of the bones as were not far under the stone; but I think those bones which were lying at a greater distance may be fairly appropriated to the bodies disturbed for the interring of the corpse to be particularly described.

"Till we came to the scattered bones the earth was of a loose texture; but lower it was more dense, and at the depth of five feet six inches was discovered a skeleton, entire as far as the ground was opened; for towards the feet, especially on the South side, some of the earth was not removed, though enough was cleared to allow of our seeing the bones of the leg and thigh. The skull, the collar-bone, and the bones of the arm and leg, were in their proper positions. Some of the ribs had sunk on the vertebræ, and appeared through their whole length at their due distances. The Sexton, an experienced man in this line, after repeated trials with his mattock, confidently asserted from the nature of the loam that the ground under the skeleton had never been moved, and he observed that under the skull, in which the teeth were remarkably well set and seemed to be complete, the ground was hard and round as a bowl.

"It is an obvious remark that this must have been the last body interred in the grave; nor can it be thought a strained conclusion but this must have been the skeleton of the person of

whom the Tombstone, which had unquestionably covered the spot for many centuries, was avowedly a Memorial. But it is further observable, and it is a point of consequence to the enquiry, that the skeleton was lying immediately under the portrait of brass with which the stone had been inlaid; or, as Mr. Cherry has well expressed it, had a perpendicular been dropped from the centre of the effigy on the surface of the stone, it would have touched exactly the corresponding part of the body here deposited.

“ Recollecting that Archbishop Wittlesey, who died a little more than twenty years before Courtenay, was not buried in lead, as may be inferred from the examination of his tomb in the Nave of Canterbury Cathedral, when levelled a few years ago, I did not expect to see a coffin of this kind in Courtenay’s grave; and perhaps you can show from sundry instances that in that age it was not customary to enclose in lead the remains of persons of even high rank.

“ As to a coffin of wood, if any such there were, it could hardly have endured a century upon this spot. The grave of the Archbishop is clearly in the higher part of the ground plot of the Church, where the earth was observed to be very dry; and the drier the soil the sooner the coffin decays. Some coffins made of green elm, and deposited in this Churchyard in a moist place, have been found in a high state of preservation after forty years; and others, of dry elm, laid in dry ground, have mouldered in a few months; and, with or without a coffin of wood, in such a soil as this, after a lapse of nearly four hundred years, a Crosier must have perished, nor could the Episcopal ring,¹ of whatever metal it might be made, have escaped a total corrosion.

“ The Inscription professes a true representation of Archbishop Courtenay’s person to have been exhibited on the brass figure :

‘ Respice, mortalis, quis quondam, sed modo talis,
Quantus et ipse fuit dum membra calentia gessit.’

¹ The absence of this has been quoted as an argument against its being the Archbishop’s grave: but might it not have been assigned with his mitre to his nephew? William of Wykeham bequeathed his to New College, Oxford, where it is still preserved.

Supposing the words to mean, that with respect to the stature of the Primate there was an exact correspondence between the portrait and the original, the despoiled matrix will not admit of an accurate admeasurement, how many inches are to be deducted for the height of the mitre, or of determining whether the drapery might not have fallen below the feet; but if a judgment may be formed of the height of Archbishop Courtenay from the figure of him recumbent on his Cenotaph in Canterbury Cathedral, which has upon the head a mitre of considerable length, he was a man of middle size, and from the apparent length of the bones, and indeed from the general view of the space occupied by the skeleton under the Tombstone, such seems to have been the stature of Courtenay.

“As a surmise it was suggested in my letter to you,¹ published in *Archæologia*, that the Tombstone might not ever have been more elevated than it was before its late removal; but I was mistaken, for a groove round the under surface not far from the edge shows that it was the slab of an Altar-Monument. Whether it might be lowered because the panels which supported it were ruinous, and the parish unwilling to bear the expence of repairing them, or because a monument raised so high was in such a situation incommodious, cannot be traced.² It may, however, be remarked that the incumbrance could not have been so great at the time of its being constructed, nor for a century and a half later, when the Laity were seldom permitted to enter the Chancel.

“During that period an Altar-Tomb so conspicuously placed would have answered the purpose of a lasting hearse; it would have been a regular day’s mind³ to the Master and Fellows of the College to excite a remembrance of their Founder. They were convinced, possibly boasted, that to them were entrusted the remains of the Archbishop; and whilst in their Stalls, with his effigy in view, they could not well neglect the offering of *Ave Marias* and *Pater-Nosters* for the eternal benefit of the Prelate by whose bounty they were maintained. The efficacy of Prayers

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. x., p. 272.

² This has been fully explained at p. 32.

³ Used in the sense of a reminder, or remembrancer, as in the old phrase “month’s mind.”

for the Dead, a prevailing tenet of the religion of that age, must have made a strong impression on the mind of Courtenay himself; he having directed in his Will that 15,000 Masses should be celebrated for his soul, and for the souls of his parents, and other relatives, and that there should be also a recital of 2,000 Mattins.

"In his Epitaph it is mentioned that Courtenay was Chancellor — '*Detur honor, fit Cancellarius ergo.*' "Surely he means Cardinal? for I cannot find him Chancellor," was the comment of Weever's on this line. And Newton, under the same notion, has intimated that the word must have reference to Courtenay having been Chancellor of Oxford. But if, as stated by Walsingham only, Courtenay, when Bishop of Hereford, was created a Cardinal, it is likewise said he did not accept that dignity; and considering that in his time, and for many years after, the Chancellorship of Oxford was an annual office, conferred on members of the University not distinguished by their rank or by their connections in the world, this is such an anti-climax in the detail of the Archbishop's preferments, as could hardly have dropped from the pen of even the Monkish Rhymer who was the Enlogist. Spelman was not aware of Courtenay's having ever been Chancellor, and has therefore observed in his *Glossary*, that the Bishop of London who was appointed (5 Richard II.) was perhaps Robert Braibroke, by an erroneous reading of "R" instead of "W"; whereas it is on record that Courtenay had as Chancellor the Great Seal for a few months. Before the King in Council the oath of office was administered to him in Reading Abbey, on the festival of St. Lawrence (August 13th, A.D. 1381)¹; and on the ensuing festival of St. Andrew, being then Archbishop of Canterbury, elect, and confirmed, and styled "State Chancellor," he at Westminster surrendered to the King the Great Seal in a purse sealed with the signet of the said elect.² Sir Robert Cotton has noticed (in his *Abridgement of Records in the Tower*) that about the beginning of November in this year, on the opening of a Parliament, Archbishop Courtenay, then Chancellor, delivered

¹ Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. vii., p. 310.

² *Ibid.*, p. 333.

a speech, taking for his theme, "*Rex convenire fecit Concilium*," upon which he adds he made a good oration, and spake of the vertuous government of the King, and his reign; affirming that no reign could endure long if vice reigned therein; to redress which, seeing it could not be done by the ordinary course of Law, the King (he said) called his Parliament." * * * * *

(Here occur two paragraphs not bearing on this subject.)

"This letter I will conclude by observing that the slab of the Tomb of Archbishop Courtenay is of marble, from a quarry in the Weald of Kent,¹ that will take a high polish.

"Yours truly,

"SAMUEL DENNE."

It is due to the memory of one who has lately been taken away from us—Mr. Beresford Hope, himself a prominent Antiquary, and indeed one of the original founders of the "Cambridge Camden Society" (the mother of all subsequent associations of a similar character), as well as the munificent restorer of St. Augustine's College at Canterbury—that an extract should here be given from a Paper he read before the Kent Archæological Society at Maidstone in 1861, though it be at variance with the opinion given by Dr. S. Denne. After expressing some doubt as to the skeleton found under the stone being that of Archbishop Courtenay, on the ground that it seemed to be that of a younger man, he went on to say:—

"There is one solution of the difficulty which I have not yet seen stated, and which I throw out with great diffidence for the consideration of men who can judge of its value better than myself. Why should not Courtenay have been buried in both places? Some of you may be surprised, but the suggestion is not so ridiculous as at first sight it appears. We know that in the Middle Ages it was one of the barbarous customs of the times—a custom which is even now occasionally followed in the case of royal funerals—to divide the dead body, and bury the heart in one place and the rest of the remains elsewhere. In

¹ Bethersden.

this case Courtenay wished to be buried at Maidstone; the Clergy of Canterbury naturally wished to bury their ecclesiastical chief in his Cathedral. Why should not the difference have been split? Why should not the Leiger Book of Canterbury speak the truth in telling us that Courtenay's body was buried there? Why should not his heart, or some other portion of his remains, have been buried in this his Collegiate Church, and been covered over by that stone in the Chancel? This reconciles both the conflicting claims, and, it may be, is the real truth?"

One argument against this suggestion is that any casket for holding the heart (or any other portion of the body) would, as existing specimens testify, be of a substantial character, and far more durable than the comparatively fragile filigree work which would ornament a crosier; and such solid metal could hardly have perished so entirely even in four hundred years as not to "leave a rack behind."

APPENDIX C (1). See page 54.

CHARTER ROLL, 7 John, m. 8 (Public Record Office):—

"Johannes, Dei gratia, &c., &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei et quantum ad patronum pertinet, dedisse, concessisse, et hac Carta nostra confirmasse Willelmo de Cornhull, Clerico, Ecclesiam de Maydenestane cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, vacantem, et de donatione nostra existentem, ratione Archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis vacantis et in manu nostro existentis, habendam et tenendam toto tempore vite sue adeo libere, integre, et pacifice sicut aliquis ante eum illam noscitur tenuisse.

"Testibus, G. filio Petri, Comite Essexie, Comite Albrico, Hugone de Neville, Johanne de Bramcestre, Archidiacono Vigornensi, Philippo de Luce, Johanne de Well', Johanne de Plessetis, et A. de Essex. Datum per manum H. de Well', Archidiacono Wellensi, apud Havering, vj die Augusti Anno Regni viij."

APPENDIX C (2). See page 67.

1311. Edward II. asks the Pope for his kinsman Guido de la Valle to be appointed Rector of Maidstone, on the ground of his wife Isabella having desired it:—

“Pape Rex, &c., &c. Nuper, pater sanctissime, vestri Apostolatus gratia munifica, Isabellam Reginam Anglie, consortem meam karissimam in suis favore preveniens speciali, uni persone idonee, per dictam consortem nostram nominandæ, de beneficio ecclesiastico ad collationem venerabilis patris Archiep. Cant. pertinente, in civitate vel diocese Cant., quod persona sic nominanda duceret acceptand’, quamprimum ad id offeret se facultas, voluit provideri, certis ad hoc per Apostolicum Rescriptum executoribus deputatis; unde vestre clementie ad grates assurgimus speciales.

“Idemque executores, facta prenotato Arch. plenaria notificatione de provisione hujusmodi, et aliis previis in negotio illo, juxta juris exigentiam, & tenorem predicti Rescripti Apostolici, plenius observati, de Eccl. de Maidenstan dicte diocesis, et de collatione prefati Arch. postmodo vacantem, dilecto clerico et consanguineo nostro magistro Guidoni de la Val, per dictam consortem nostram ad hoc, nominato auctoritate benignitatis vestre, eis in hac parte commissa, debite providerunt, &c., &c. Verum pater pie, quia, ut jam nostro auditui est relatum, quidam magister Stéphanus de Haselingfeld, nitens provisionem predictam, non sine gravi sedis Apost. offensa, pro viribus impugnare, et predictum clericum et consanguineum nostrum effectum provisionis illius illicite defraudare, fingensque se ad dictam eccl. jus habere contra dictum consanguineum nostrum, ad vestre sanctitatis curiam appellationem interposuit super negotio memorato;

“Sanctitati vestre affectuosis precibus supplicamus, &c., &c.”

Rymer’s *Fœdera* (Record Commission Edition), vol. ii., p. 130.

1313. Edward II., again appealing to the Pope on behalf of his kinsman, Guido de la Valle, and complaining that the Executors of his wife, Isabella, have failed to effect the removal of Stephen de Haselyngfelde, writes:—

“Verum præfatus Arch. licet sibi de facto ipsorum executorum

in hac parte constaret, non sine contemptu sedis Apostol. et dedecore prefate nostre consortis, eandem Eccl. cuidam magistro Stephano de Haslyngfeld contulit, pro sue libito voluntatis; et prefatum Guidonem, non obstante inhibitione executorum predictorum, a possessione ejus Eccl. fecit, contra justitiam amoveri, ipsumque, et sibi adherentes per processus varios, aut excommunicationum & interdicti sententias presumpsit, & adhuc presumit multipliciter molestare.

"Nos, igitur, &c., &c., beatitudini vestre sinceris affectibus supplicamus, premissis provida deliberatione pensatis, petitiones ejusdem Guidonis, vobis, si placeat, super premissis porrigendas, benigne audire, sibi que super contentis in eisdem, prout nostro et prefate consortis nostre honori accommo ipsius Guidonis vestra paterna sollicitudo prospexerit convenire, juxta speratam fiduciam, dignemini opportunum juris remedium ordinare."

Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii., p. 207.

APPENDIX C (3). See page 68.

1320. The King asks the Pope to appoint Guido de la Valle, whom he calls "Canonicum Agenn., Rectorem Eccl. de Maydenstane," to the Bishopric of Dol, "quod 'Johannes Doles' tanta se sentiat corporis debilitate depressum, tantaque senectute confRACTUM quod jam impotens redditur ad exequendum officium pastorale per quod a cura exui & cedendi desideret facultatem."

Ibid., p. 429.

APPENDIX C (4). See page 71.

HUGO DE PELEGRIN.

1353. 26 Edward III. :—

"Rex Hugoni (magistro) Pelegrini, domini Summi Pontificis in Anglia Nuncio Speciali, salutem, &c.

"Licet primi fructus, de aliquibus beneficiis Eccl. in regno nostro Anglie, pretextu aliquarum reservationum seu collationum per dictum Dominum Summum Pontificem inde factarum, quousque hujusmodi collationes realiter execute et effectum sortite fuerunt,

ad usum dicti Dom. Sum. Pontificis aliquo tempore huc usque exacti vel levati non fuerint, non de jure exigi vel levari debeant;

“Vos, tamen, ut accepimus, diversas pecuniarum summas, nomine primorum fructuum, a diversis personis ecclesiasticis dicti regni qui beneficia sua ex collationibus verorum patronum tenent & tenuerunt a diu, colore hujusmodi reversionum et collationum de beneficiis ipsis per curiam Romanam factarum, ut asseritis, quanquam hujusmodi collationes execute aut effectum sortite realiter non existant, nec dictis beneficiis incumbentes quicquam juris, virtute alicujus hujusmodi reservationis aut collationis Papalis, vendicent in eisdem, ad usum Dom. Sum. Pontif. exegistis, et indies levare nitimini minus juste, in nostri prejudicium, & nedum personarum eccles. hujusmodi, set totius regni predicti grave dampnum ac depressionem & depauperationem manifestam;

“Nos, igitur, hujusmodi prejudicio dampno, depressioni et depauperationi precavere, ac hujusmodi exactiones novas et insolitas, in nostri et nostri regni dicti præjudicium machinatas, volentes restringere, sicut decet,

“Vobis precipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod ab hujusmodi exactionibus et gravaminibus aliquibus, personis eccles. dicti regni nostri, ex causa premissa, de cæteris faciendis, penitus desistentes, si quid ab eis, vel eorum aliquo, per vos vel ad mandatum vestrum, sic extortum vel levatum fuerit, id eis sine dilatione restituatis, ne ad vos propter vestram incuriam, in hac parte, materiam habeamus graviter capiendi.”

Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. iii., part i., p. 250.

APPENDIX D (1). See page 82.

“CONFIRMATIO HOSPITALIS DE MAYDENSTANE.

“Omnibus Christi, &c., &c., ad quos, &c., &c., Rogerus Prior et Capitulani, &c., salutem, &c.

“Cum Venerabilis Pater noster Bonifacius, Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, &c., construxerit quoddam Hospitale apud Maydenstane, et eidem Hospitali ac Magistro et Fratribus ibidem Domino servientibus ac eorum successoribus dederit et

concesserit, et sua Carta confirmaverit, sicut in eadem perspeximus plenius contineri, quasdam terras, possessiones, et redditus, nos donationibus et concessionibus predictarum terrarum, possessionum, et reddituum, nostrum prebentes assensum, eas, sicut rite et rationabiliter facte sunt, sigilli Capituli nostri munimine auximus roborandas, viz., omnes terras, possessiones, et redditus, cum eorum pertinentiis, quos predictus Dominus Cantuariensis emerit de pecunia sua, in campis de Petryshull, et in aliis locis ubicumque extra territorium seu feodum nostrum, necnon etiam pratum quoddam quod est prope idem Hospitale et quod vocatur "Broks" cum suis pertinentiis, quod habebat idem Dominus in dominio Manerii sui de Maydenstane, collationibus insuper ecclesiarum, viz., de Farnlege (? Farleigh) et Sutton, cum suis pertinentiis, eisdem Magistro et Fratribus a predicto Domino Cantuar. factis, nostrum similiter prebentes assensum eas et alia omnia que in presenti juste et pacifice optinerit, sigilli nostri predicti communimus. Ita tamen quod in hiis quæ perveniunt de Manerio nostro de Farnlege cum suis pertinentiis, et que ex antiqua consuetudine et approbata in eodem Manerio nostro percipere consuevimus, nobis nec nostris successoribus aliquod prejudicium generetur. In quorum omnium, &c., &c.

"Datum in Capitulo nostro die Dominica proxima ante Festum Natalis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, Anno Domini MCCLXI."

Registrum Ecclesie Christi, Cantuariensis, I., f. 255.

APPENDIX E (1). See page 93.

THE following Extracts from Archbishop Chicheley's Register (vol. i., f. 95, b) will show the different terms in which a direct appointment (*collatio*), and one on the presentation of the College, were made:—

"Henricus, permissione Divina, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, dilecto in Christo filio Magistro Johanni Holand, utriusque juris Doctori, gratiam, salutem, et Apostolicam benedictionem. . . . Cum Collegium nostrum Omnium Sanctorum de Maydeston nostre

Diocesis fuerit et sit ad presens, per mortem domini Johannis Wotton ultimi Magistri sive Custodis ejusdem, magistratus solatio destitutum ; Ipsiusque Collegii nostri provisio ad magistratus sive custodie perfectionem in eodem legitime ad nos pertineat ista vice ; Volentes idcirco eidem Collegio nostro, ac cure animarum Parochianorum ejusdem, in quantum cum Deo possumus salubriter providere, ac de tue circumspectione, industria et solercia vigilanti plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinentes, tibi magistratum et custodiam dicti Collegii nostri de Maydeston conferimus intuitu caritatis, ac te Magistrum et Custodem ejusdem prefecimus ac per bureti nostri tradicionem investimus te, et instituimus canonice in eadem cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis. Eidemque Collegio nostro de persona tua providemus canonice per presentes curam animarum Parochianorum, regimen quoque et administrationem dicti Collegii, tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus, tibi in Domino committentes. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Datum in Manerio nostro de Otteford viij die mensis Marcii Anno Domini MCCCCXVII, et nostre translationis anno quarto.”

This is followed by a Mandate to the Sub-Master and Fellows to proceed at once to his formal Induction, thus (*Ibid.*, f. 96, a) :—

“Henricus, permissione Divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Anglie Primas, et Apostolice sedis Legatus, Dilectis in Christo filiis Submagistro et Consociis Collegii nostri Omnium Sanctorum de Maydeston nostre Diocesis, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Quia nos magistratum et custodiam Collegii nostri predicti per mortem domini Johannis Wotton, ultimi magistri sive custodis ejusdem, magistratus solatio destitutum audivimus, cujus provisio, ac magistri sive custodis prefecio, in eodem ad nos legitime pertinent ista vice, Dilecto in Christo filio Magistri Johanni Holand, utriusque juris Doctori, contulimus intuitu caritatis, ac ipsum Magistrum et Custodem ejusdem prefecimus, et per bureti¹ nostri tradicionem investuimus eum, et investuimus in et de eodem cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis, eidemque Collegio nostro de persona ipsius providimus canonice atque rite. Tibi, igitur, fili Sub-Magister, committimus,

¹ Clearly a clerical error for “biretti.”

et mandamus quatinus prefatum Magistrum Johannem, vel Procuratorem suum ejus nomine, installes et in corporalem et realem possessionem magistratus et custodie Collegii nostri predicti, cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis, inducas, inducive facias, et defendas inductum. Vobis insuper omnibus et singulis, Sub-magistro, Consociis, clericis, choristis, Collegii nostri predicti in virtute sancte obedientie firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatinus eidem Johanni, ut Magistro Collegii nostri predicti, sitis obedientes, et intendentes in omnibus sicut decet. Et quid tu, fili Sub-magister, feceris in premissis, cum per partem dicti Magistri Johannis congrue fueris requisiti, nos debite certifies litteris tuis patenter habentibus hunc tenorem sigillo communi ejusdem Collegii consignatis. Datum ut supra, &c."

The appointment of Holand's successor, as the first instance of a presentation on the part of the Sub-Master and Fellows, is thus intimated to Heron, and to the College:—

"Henricus, &c., &c., Dilecto in Christo filio domino Rogero Heron, presbitero, salutem, &c. Ad Collegium nostrum Omnium Sanctorum de Maydeston nostre Dioecesis per mortem naturalem ultimi Magistri ibidem, magistri sive custodis solatio ad presens penitus destitutum, te juxta formam et effectum ordinationis et statutorum Collegii nostri antedicti in Magistratum ejusdem electum, et ad idem per Sub-magistrum ac Capellanos et Confratres perpetuos ipsius Collegii nostri nobis presentatum, admitimus. Tibi quare magistratum et custodiam ejusdem Collegii nostri conferimus, et te Magistrum sive Custodem ejusdem Collegii nostri cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis prefecimus per presentes. Curam, regimen, et administrationem omnium et singulorum bonorum, tam spiritualium quam temporalium, ipsius Collegii nostri vel ad illud quovismodo pertinencium Tibi in Domino committentes. In cujus rei, &c., &c. Datum in Civitate Rothomathen in Normannia, septimo die mensis Augusti anno Domini MCCCCXIX, et nostre translationis anno sexto."

This form of appointment is followed by the Mandate to the College authorities to instal Roger Heron, in similar terms to that in the case of Holand, *mutatis mutandis*.

Archbishop Chicheley's Register, I., f. 103, b.

APPENDIX F (1). See page 119.

EXTRACT from the Charter granted by James I. to the Town and Parish of Maidstone :—

“JACOBUS Rex Anglie, &c., &c.

“Cumque etiam quedam Ecclesia in Villa de Maidstone vocata Ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum de Maidstone, quondam fuit Ecclesia Collegiata, ac per quamplurimos annos jam elapsos usitata et applicata fuit ad divinum servitium et alia que ad cultum divinum pertinent ibidem celebranda, ac eadem Ecclesia cum Cemiterio ejusdem quondam fuit parcellum possessionum nuper dissoluti Domus sive Collegii de Maidstone predicti, ut informamur, Nos pietate moti, et ob augmentationem cultus divini volentes, quod de cetero imperpetuum eadem Ecclesia et Cemiterium eidem pertinens, erit, permanebit, et applicabitur ad divina Servicia in eadem Ecclesia de tempore in tempus celebranda, et ad mortuos in eodem Cemiterio sepeliendos, volumus et jure prerogative nostre concedimus quod Ecclesia illa in omnibus temporibus deinceps imperpetuum sit, erit, et vocabitur Ecclesia Parochialis de Maidstone in Comitatu Kantie, eandemque Ecclesiam per nomen Ecclesie Parochialis de Maidstone in Comitatu Kantie, pro nobis, heredibus, et successoribus nostris per presentes volumus perpetuis futuris temporibus de cetero nominari, dignosci, et appellari. Ac ad intentionem quod Ecclesia illa de cetero imperpetuum sit et permaneat Ecclesia Parochialis pro divino servitio, et alias ad cultum divinum spectans, in eadem Ecclesia perpetuo celebranda, ac ad Sacramenta et Sacramentalia in eadem ministranda, ad quam quidem Ecclesiam Maior, Jurati, et Communitas Ville Regis et Parochialis predicti, ac omnes inhabitantes residentes infra eandem villam et parochiam de tempore in tempus adire, congregare, et convenire possint, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex recta scientia, et mero motu nostris, damus et per presentes concedimus et confirmamus predictis nunc Maiori, Juratis, et Communitati Ville Regis et Parochie de Maidstone in Comitatu Kantie predictis, et successoribus suis, Ecclesiam illam de Maidstone, ac Cemiterium ejusdem Ecclesie cum pertinentiis habendum et tenendum predictam Ecclesiam . . . imperpetuum ad divina

servicia et alia que ad divinum cultum ibidem pertinentia peragenda et celebranda prout modo usus est, sive antehac uti aut in usu fuit sive sunt sive fuerunt, tenenda de nobis, heredibus, et successoribus nostris, ut de Manerio nostro de Eastgreenwiche in predicto Comitatu Kantie per fidelitatem tantum in libero et communi soccagio, et non in capite, nec per servitium Militare. . . .

“In cujus rei testimonium has literas fieri fecimus Patentes, Teste meipso, apud Westmonasterium tricesimo primo die Decembris Anno Regni nostri Anglie Francie et Hibernie secundo, et Scotie tricesimo octavo.”

The following is an English translation of the foregoing Charter granted by King James:—

“James, &c., to all to whom, &c., &c. . . . Whereas also a certain Church in the Town of Maidstone aforesaid, called the Church of All Saints of Maidstone, was formerly a Collegiate Church, and for many years now elapsed was used and applied to celebrate there Divine Service, and other things which pertain to Divine worship, and the same Church, with the Cemetery of the same, was formerly a portion of the possessions of the late House or College of Maidstone aforesaid, as we are informed; We, moved by piety, and for the augmentation of Divine worship, willing that hereafter for ever the same Church, and the Cemetery to the same pertaining, shall be, remain, and be applied to Divine Services, to be celebrated in the same Church from time to time, and to the burying the dead in the same Cemetery, will, and in right of our prerogative grant, that the same Church, at all times hereafter for ever, be, shall be, and shall be called the Parish Church of Maidstone, &c. . . . And to the intent that the same Church hereafter for ever may be and remain a Parish Church, for perpetually celebrating Divine Service and other things belonging to Divine worship, in the same Church, and for administering the Sacraments and Sacramentals in the same, and to which Church aforesaid, the Mayor, Jurats, and Commonalty of the King’s Town and Parish aforesaid, and all other inhabitants resident within the same Town and Parish, from time to time may go, meet, and assemble, We do of Our special grace, and

of Our certain knowledge and of Our own accord, give, and by these presents grant and confirm, to the aforesaid the present Mayor, Jurats, and Commonalty of the King's Town and Parish of Maidstone in the County of Kent aforesaid, and their successors, the same Church of Maidstone aforesaid, and the Cemetery of the same Church, with the appurtenances, to have and to hold the aforesaid Church, &c., to the aforesaid present Mayor, Jurats, and Commonalty of the King's Town and Parish, and their successors for ever, for the performing and celebrating there Divine Service, &c., &c."

The search through the "Burghmote Records" which these enquiries have rendered necessary, has brought to light an incident which, though affecting the Town rather than the Church, it will not be out of place to mention here. Among the rumours of plots and the consequent alarms which marked the later years of Charles II.'s reign, was what is commonly known as the "Rye-House Conspiracy." In the end of 1681, Lord Shaftesbury was charged with being privy to the formation of an "Association," having for its object the exclusion of the Duke of York, now currently suspected of being a Romanist, from the succession to the throne, and even of coercing the King to make certain concessions. The discovery of some very compromising papers in Lord Shaftesbury's house, the contents of which were published, created a stir, not to say a panic, throughout the country. Among the foremost of the towns to profess loyalty and to protest against such intrigues was Maidstone, which, in common with the towns of Evesham, Norwich, Derby, and others, presented a vehement repudiation of all sympathy with such designs. The protest of the Maidstone Corporation, accompanied as it was by a surrender of their Charter from James I., deserves to be given in full.

It ran thus¹:—

At a Court of Burghmote held April 7th, 1682 (30 Charles II.), "It is ordered at this Courte that the Abhorrence hereunder written be forthwith presented to His Sacred Majestie with the Common Seale annexed, and that the Charter of our Corporacon

¹ Burghmote Records, C.C., f. 237.

be alsoe surrendered and presented to his Majestie, as in the same Abhorrence is expressed.

“ To the King’s Most Excellent Majestie :

“ Wee your Majestie’s most dutyfull and Loyall Subjects, the Mayor, Jurats, and Common Councell of the King’s Towne and Parish of Maidstone, haveing with great astonishment and consternacon of mind perused an accursed Paper seized in the Earle of Shaftsbury’s closet, and published by your Majestie’s order, doe thinke ourselves as true Englishmen (that is as good subjects) in duty bound and obliged to declare to your Majestie and the whole world our Abhorrence and utter detestacon of that most Trayterous and villanous writeing bearing the name and Title of an Associacon, but being indeed deemed by every one of us a most horrid and damnable contrivance to destroy your Sacred Majestie, your Royal Family, and Government, and to pursue to utter destruccion all your Majestie’s Liegh (? Liege) people who should doe their duty in opposing the bloody designs purposed and sett forth in that audacious and arch-traiterous conspiracy. And wee are the rather moved to this our public Testimony against it because wee have observed that since this impious contrivance hath been discovered to the world not one man to our knowledge of the severall parties who are the known enemies to the now established Government hath either in familiar discourses, in written or printed papers, shewed the least disaffeecon or dislike to it. But on the contrary hath maligned and reviled all good men who have (as wee doe) heartily abhorred and detested that abominable and for ever to be abhorred Associacon. And now, greate Sir, that our expressions may not be verball only, wee doe in full confidence and trust in your Majestie’s greater wisdom, and from the certain and long experience wee have had of your unparraledled goodness lay downe at your Majestie’s Royall feet the Charter of our Corporacon, most humbly beseeching your Majestie to grant us such a Charter as to your Princely wisdom shall seeme most meet. God Almighty defend your sacred person, and propogate your Royall family, that over us and ours you and your lawfull Successors may Reigne till all derived

dominion shall returne to the Originall power (God himselfe) by whom Kings Reigne."

At the adjourned Court of Burghmote held 20th June, 1682,¹ it was ordered "that there be a Letter of Attorney unto Edwin Wiat, Esq.,² for us and on our behaulfs to surrender unto the King's most excellent Majestie the Charter or Charters of our Corporacon, and for soe doinge the said Letter of Attorney shall be his sufficient warrant," etc.

The result was the speedy issue of another Charter from the King, with a confirmation of their ancient privileges, and the addition of several new ones.³

Yet that substituted Charter contained a clause which proved to be fraught with dire trouble to the town. It empowered the King to remove and appoint Municipal functionaries, ostensibly with the consent of his Council, but practically at his own will and whim. James II. saw his opportunity, and taking advantage of that clause, based a systematic attack on Maidstone (among other Corporations), which had elected members obnoxious to himself, as opposed to his Papistical views. Early in 1688 orders came to Maidstone to remove the Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and eleven Common Councilmen, and a fortnight after to make a further sweep of eleven more Aldermen, the rest of the Common Council, and even the Recorder, and the Town Clerk! Maidstone obeyed, and in sullen submission elected the King's nominees. But before the year had closed James had fled before the rising storm, and a Memorandum in the Burghmote Records⁴ (under date October 20th) emphatically describes the feelings of the town, "TYRANNUS EXIT:" and the original members of the Corporation were reinstated.

¹ Burghmote Records, C.C., f. 239, b.

² Edwin Wiat was Recorder.

³ Burghmote Records, C.C., f. 242.

⁴ MS. in Burghmote Records, C.C., f. 7.

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